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### THE ORDER OF THE SENTENCE IN THE ASSYRIAN HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS.

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#### I. INTRODUCTORY.

##### A. The object of the investigation.

The following discussion is among the first attempts at building up, on the basis of careful and extended observation, not only an accurate and scientific but a historical syntax of the Assyrian language. So little progress has hitherto been made in this department, that the work, if properly carried out, need be done but once in order to establish both the syntax itself, and historical development.

The present investigation has been confined to a small department of the syntactical field. The aim has been (1) to determine accurately the usual order of the sentence, and to trace any development of it that should arise during the growth of the language; (2) to account as far as possible for any changes from the usual order thus determined; and (3) to show the relative frequency of such variations at different periods.

##### B. The progress already made.

Probably the best formulated statement of the results already obtained in this line is to be found in various paragraphs of Delitzsch's *Assyrian Grammar*, although these are meagre, ill-arranged, and not intended to be historical. His deductions are in the main as follows:

The Object precedes its Verb, § 142; the Adjective follows its Noun, § 121; (Numerals follow rules for Adjective, § 129). Appositional words or phrases follow the substantive to which they belong, § 125. (In any of the above cases the opposite arrangement indicates emphasis.) Infinitives used as Constructs precede

their Objects but as finite forms they follow, § 132. Participles precede their Objects or Adverbial Modifiers, except in rare cases, § 131. Attributive Relative clauses may occasionally precede their Antecedent, § 147. Other brief details are noted on pages 350, 358.

Whether or not these statements are to be added to, or modified, will be better, judged at the close of the present discussion.

### C. The method of investigation.

In a complete discussion, not only the order of Subject, Object, and Predicate, should be considered but also that of their Modifiers, as well as Numerals, Infinitives, Participles, and Relative clauses; but as a number of these topics are being examined by other investigators at the present time, I have confined my discussion to the first three.

In order to obtain complete results it has been necessary to separate compound sentences into their component clauses, and to regard these as complete sentences, although they may be closely connected with some preceding clause, and therefore even lack perhaps a separate Subject or Object. Many cases also where the Assyrian is enabled by a verb with a pronominal suffix to condense a sentence into a single word, it has been necessary from the nature of the case to leave out of consideration. The order of each sentence, as regards the position of Subject, Object, and Predicate has thus been examined, and the results tabulated under the main heads of Declarative, or Principal, and Relative, or Subordinate sentences. Having ascertained that a certain order everywhere prevailed more or less extensively, this has been adopted as the Normal Order, and an attempt made to explain the causes of variation from it.

This method has been carried through the range of historical inscriptions, from Tiglath-Pileser I. to Ašurbanipal, covering some 500 years,\* and a careful

\* The material examined begins with several short inscriptions previous to Tiglath-Pileser I. namely:

1. Pudi-ihu (about 1350 B. C.), *ZA.* II. 3, p. 313.
2. Ramman-nirari I. (about 1325 B. C.), IV R. 44, 45.
3. Tuklat-Adar I. (about 1275 B. C.), III R. 4, No. 2.
4. Ašûr-rîš-iši (about 1150 B. C.), III R. 3, No. 6.

Then follow in order,

5. Tiglath-Pileser I. (about 1100 B. C.), I R. 9-16.
6. Ašurnāširpal (885-860) *Annals*, I R. 17-26; I R. 27, No. 2; I R. 28.
7. Shalmaneser II. (860-825) *Obelisk*, Lay. 87-98. *Monolith*, III R. 7-8.
8. Šamši-Ramman (825-812) I R. 29-31, 32-34.
9. Ramman-nirari III. (812-783) I R. 35, Nos. 3, 1, 2.
10. Tiglath-Pileser III. (745-727) Lay. 17-18; II R. 67.
11. Sargon (722-705) *Annals*, Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargon.*; Khorsabad *Annals*, Room XIV.; "Pavé des Ports," *ibid.*; Cylinder I R. 35; Bull Inscriptions, Lyon, *Sargontexte*; Stele Inscription, Winckler, *Keil. Sarg.*; Nimrud Inscription, Lay. 33-34; Bronze, Silver Inscriptions, Lyon, *Sarg.*; "Revers des Plaques," Winckler, *Keil. Sarg.*; Harem Inscription, *ibid.*; Gold, Antimony Inscriptions, Lyon, *Sarg.*
12. Sennacherib (705-681) Taylor Cyl., I R. 37-42.
13. Esarhaddon (681-660) Cyl. A, I R. 45-47; Cyl. B, Robert Francis Harper *AEI.*; Black Stone I R. 49-50.
14. Ašurbanipal (668-626) Rassam Cyl., V R. 1-10.



comparison made of the tabulated results, with the purpose of exhibiting whatever development may have taken place in the usage of the language in this respect. An endeavor has been made to perform the work carefully, and although one is always liable to error, it is believed that the tables will be found sufficiently accurate for purposes of comparison and general calculation.

## II. THE HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION.

### A. Tiglath-Pileser I.\*

The following table presents in brief the results of the examination of this inscription.

TABLE I.†

TIG.-PIL. I. (ABOUT 1100).

Number of Declarative sentences.....	322
“ “ Relative “ .....	86
Total .....	408

Cases of Nominal Order.	Declarative.	Relative.	Total.
Subject, Object, Predicate.....	16	18	34
Object, Object, Predicate.....	6	3	9
Object, Subject, Predicate.....	..	9	9
Subject, Predicate .....	36	54	90
Object, Predicate.....	264	47	311
Cases of Inverted Order.	Declarative.	Relative.	Total.
Object, Subject, Predicate.....	4	..	4
Predicate, Object.....	1	2	3

\* The investigation has been begun with Tiglath-Pileser I., as offering the most extended basis for deduction among the older inscriptions. A comparison has then been instituted between this and earlier fragments, after which the other inscriptions have been examined in their historical order.

† In explanation of the table several remarks may be made, which will apply also to later tables.

(a) The head Declarative has been made to include also Cohortative, Imperative, etc., all which would probably come under the head of principal sentences. A separate table of such will be given later.

(b) The order Object, Subject, Predicate, would not be an inverted order in an Attributive Relative sentence, owing to the fact that the Relative Pronoun, whether Subject or Object, must stand at the head of the sentence. In a Declarative sentence, on the other hand, this order would be inverted, and has been so noted in the tables.

(c) The orders Subject, Predicate; Object, Predicate; and Predicate, Subject, or Object are in the table made to include cases where the third member of the complete sentence is also present, as well as sentences where only the two members noted are found. So that to find the actual number of the latter, we must subtract the number of complete sentences found above in any particular case, viz., the actual number of sentences of the order Object, Predicate, and containing only two members, in Tiglath-Pileser is 264 minus 14 and 6, the number of complete sentences found where the Object also comes before the Predicate.

(d) The sentences tabulated are all verbal unless otherwise noted. For a discussion of the nominal sentence, see a later note.

The above table proves conclusively that by the usual order, during the early period at least, the Predicate closes the sentence, and that the normal arrangement of the parts is Subject, Object, Predicate, if all of them are fully expressed. Inasmuch as the examination of the other inscriptions has shown that this rule will hold good through all, I have called any departure from this order an Inverted Sentence. A farther study of the table shows that the Relative sentences follow the same general rule as Declarative, and again, that where a verb governs two objects, as is quite frequent, they both ordinarily precede the verb. The unusually large predominance of the order Object, Predicate, is found in all the historical material, and is mostly due to its narrative style, where the subject is rarely expressed unless emphatic.

As against 401 cases of normal order, therefore, we find only seven cases of inversion, giving a ratio of .017 together, or separately Declarative, .018; Relative, .023.

Examining in detail these seven cases, in order to account if possible for so unusual a phenomenon at this period, we may divide them into four groups. (1) In three cases (II 25-28; V 8-10; VI 39-45) we find the order Object, Subject, Predicate, where normally the Subject should stand first. They all contain the phrase *ḱâti ikšud*, where *ḱâti* is the Subject, and it is probable that the phrase has so far become a stereotyped expression (equivalent practically to *anâku akšud* or simply *akšud*) that *ḱâti* having merely a pronominal force is placed near the verb, at least we shall find such to be its usage in the subsequent inscriptions. (2) Two other cases may be classed together (I 45 *ušamḱitu gir Ašûr*; VII 41, *ušamḱitu ḱališ multarḫi*). These are Relative sentences of the form Predicate, Object, where we should have normally the reverse order. In explanation of the inversion the following points are to be noted. (a) That these examples form the *third clause* in a Relative sentence, where we ordinarily find *ša* repeated;\* (b) that the order is chiasitic with the preceding clause, a favorite variation in the later inscriptions, and (c) that they stand at the end of a paragraph. We may perhaps consider that the chiasitic order results from an effort to bring these clauses into closer connection with the preceding. (3) In VI 49 we find *ezib ḥarranât nakri mādātu*. This Declarative clause (order, Predicate, Object) with those closely following introduces a break in the narrative, and the prowess of the monarch as a conqueror is summed up briefly before the scribe passes on to narrate his successes in hunting and building. Hence we are justified in regarding this inversion as due to emphasis, by way of contrast with the preceding narrative.† (4) The rea-

\* It is a principle enunciated by Kraetzschmar, and which holds good throughout the historical inscriptions, that Relative clauses, when more than one follow the same antecedent, generally occur in pairs, with one *ša* sufficing for each pair, but repeated with the odd clause.

† An interesting parallel in almost the same words is found in the so-called Hunting Inscription of Ašurnāṣirpal (I 34sq.) which belongs perhaps more properly to Tiglath-Pileser, a view with which the parallel accords.



son for the inverted order in II 23sq. Šalmât kurâdišunu (nâru) dame ana Diglat ušêši is not plain, unless the writer desired to bring into conjunction the names of the two rivers. That a change of order should be made for a logical or rhetorical convenience of this sort seems quite as likely as the vowel changes that are often made for the sake of euphony. But an interchange of place between Subject and Object is not of so much importance as between either of these and the Predicate.\*

We have therefore suggested certain principles governing inversion, such as chiasitic order, use of *ḵ â t u* near the Verb, desire for close connection or euphonic structure, occurrence at the end of a paragraph, and emphasis, all of which will be found holding good in later inscriptions. In this respect the rule laid down by Delitzsch (§ 142) that the Object may be placed either before or after the Verb, according as greater emphasis is to be laid on the Object or on the Verb, is not adequate to cover the majority of cases. In fact I am able to show that the desire for emphasis will account for only a very few cases of inversion, as compared with the whole number.

I have also made some examination to determine whether an inverted order gives evidence of any subordination of the inverted clause, as in the case of Circumstantial Clauses in Hebrew and Arabic, but have reached the conclusion that such object was not distinctly sought. In only a few cases would a similar idea of subordination be found fitting to the idea expressed by the clause. And one cannot fail to note that the spirit of Assyrian cares little for subordinate ideas. Coördination is the rule, to an extent which grows rather tiresome to modern ears.

#### B. Before Tiglath-Pileser.

Returning now to examine the material offered us by inscriptions earlier than Tiglath-Pileser, we find it very meagre, the only ones important for our purposes being those of Ramman-nirari I., Pudi-ilu, Tuklat-Adar I., and Ašur-rîš-išî, and these contain but four complete sentences. These inscriptions cover some 250 years before Tiglath-Pileser I. and as 215 years more elapse before the next inscription of any size occurs, it is to be regretted that we have not more early material to compare with Tiglath-Pileser, but the little we have accords well with the results already obtained. The following is the tabular statement of these four earlier records.

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\* There are two cases in which it might appear that inversion had taken place, but which may be better explained otherwise. One is II 43sq. Narkabâtiya...alḵi Diglat. A comparison with III 97-99 will show that *ebir* is to be supplied after Diglat. The other case is III. 41sq., where the words *šadâni šakûti* might be construed (as Lotz seems to have taken them) as the object of *lu ašbat*, but it is better to regard them as Accusative of place with the following principal clause: "*In high mountains which....narkabâti ina lâ bani lu emid.*" With *lu ašbat* there is then to be supplied as object the word *ḥarranu* as also in V 45sq., 68sq.

TABLE II.

FRAGMENTS BEFORE TIG.-PIL.

Number of Declarative sentences.....	25
“ “ Relative “ .....	21
Total .....	46

Cases of Normal Order.	Declarative.	Relative.	Total.
Subject, Object, Predicate.....	6	4	10
Subject, Predicate.....	7	13	20
Object, Predicate.....	19	12	31
Cases of Inverted Order.	Declarative.	Relative.	Total.
Object, Subject, Predicate.....	..	2	2
Subject, Object, Predicate.....	..	1	1

This table presents in the main the same features as that of Tiglath-Pileser I. We note the same predominance of the general order, Subject, Object, Predicate. The only exceptions to this normal order are found in Relative clauses, only one of which however affects the position of the verb. The small amount of material would scarcely yield a fair comparison on the basis of a percentage, but we may examine the cases of inversion in detail. The earliest are those in Ramman-nir-ari I. (a) Obv. 10-12: *ša napḥar malki u rubûti Anu Ašûr Šamaš Ramman u Ištara ana šepišu ušêknišu*.

Here the inversion consists in placing the Object before the Subject. It is probable in order to emphasize the Object, and it also brings *napḥar...rubûti* into closer relation with a similar idea of totality expressed in the preceding clauses. (b) Obv. 25sq.: *u nagab za'erišu kâsu ikšudu*. This is the same use of *kâtu* near the verb of which we have already found two cases in Tiglath-Pileser. The third instance of inversion is in *Asûr-rîš-iši* l. 3sq.: *u.... ili ša šame u iršiti (ira)muma ikriba šangûtsu*. The order is Subject, Predicate, Object, and it is again the third clause in a Relative sentence, although not chiastically arranged, as in the similar cases in Tiglath-Pileser. But no particular emphasis seems to be intended, and therefore I think it best to consider it merely an artistic device for rounding up with effect a short period, instead of repeating the relative particle with a single clause.

The style and usage then in these earlier inscriptions seems to correspond to that of Tiglath-Pileser, and we may consider them all, for our purposes, as a unit, in spite of the fact that they cover some two hundred years or more.

#### C. Ašurnāṣirpal.

During more than two centuries from the time of Tiglath-Pileser we have no records which will allow us to examine the syntactical growth of the language. Then we meet with the long annals of Ašurnāṣirpal, who reigned from 885 to



860 B. C. Here we find less of the rigidity which is so marked in Tiglath-Pileser. The sentences are longer, there is more freedom in the use of Relative clauses, especially the temporal, but even yet the style is stereotyped, and in places exceedingly repetitious. It lacks the narrative interest of Sargon or Sennacherib, and the varied diction of Ašurbanipal. It still belongs, as far as we may judge from the historical inscriptions, to the primary period of the literature. The inscription has marked peculiarities in many respects, and especially in orthography, but in the structure of the sentence, it does not depart so widely from the older standards, as the table\* will show. Several points in it are worthy of note. (a) The great preponderance of Declarative sentences (greater than in Tiglath-Pileser), and among these of the order Object, Predicate. This is, of course, due to the narrative style, so that in the introduction before the narrative begins, the number of Relative clauses is much greater in proportion, and at the same time inversions are more frequent. (This is always true in the introductory descriptions of the kings). (b) The number of cases of inversion is as yet small in comparison with the total of sentences. The figures given in the table, taken as they stand yield the following results :

Ratio of inversions in Declarative sentences.....	.041
“ “ “ “ Relative “ .....	.16
“ “ “ “ Total “ .....	.055

(with these compare the corresponding results in Tiglath-Pileser: Declarative, .015; Relative, .023; total, .017).

But in fact among the cases in Declarative sentences, twenty consist of the same phrase *asakan mittak*, five of the phrase *akušu mašakšu*, and three of the phrase *utera mittak*. Therefore in a more just estimate we should take the number of inversions in Declarative clauses at five, which would reduce the ratio in these to .006 and on the total to .027. (c) It is also noticeable that by far the larger ratio of inversions is found in Relative clauses, and of these 13 out of 19 are met in the first fifty lines of the inscription. This is probably due to the more poetic coloring and style of the introductory portion, but it seems true that inversions take place more easily in a Relative clause than in any other. (d) By the term adverbial inversions, used in reference to this and the following inscriptions is meant the inverted order produced when any word or words not forming one of the three principal parts of the sentence is found after the Predicate. These are most frequently some adverbial expression, or the indirect object of the verb, or appositional phrase.

In accounting for each of the fifty cases of inversion occurring in this inscrip-

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\* For the tables of this and the following inscriptions see the general table at the end of the historical survey

tion, I have grouped the various usages under several different heads. Sometimes the division may seem to rest on externals, and be unscientific, but with such a delicate subject as style, we can hardly expect to bring every instance of variation under a definite principle.

(a) Cases of inversion of Subject and Object only, not involving the verb. Of these there are seven (I 8sq., II 39, I 24sq., I 39, I 10, III 117, III 122) of which two will serve as examples; II 39 *ša ašaršunu mamma lâ êmu-ru*; III 117 *mâtâti kališina kâtu iksud*. These are all Relative sentences, and with them should be contrasted the 23 cases of the normal order: Subject, Object, Predicate. There is no reason to explain any of the above cases by emphasis, but other explanations may be suggested for several. In three cases the principle observed above in regard to the use of *kâtu* appears to hold, and possibly the indefinite *mamma* seeks the same position. But the more likely explanation of the first four cases (see first example) is that the anticipatory *ša* attracts towards itself the word whose relative nature it denotes, hence causing the inversion. (b) Passing now to cases where the verb also suffers inversion, we have illustrations of the principle of chiasitic order in I 12, *tušaršidu palâšu*; I 30, *ipilu gimra*; I 31, *ukinnu išreti*; I 51, *iḥpi kinnašunu*.

The first three are Relative clauses, chiasitic with the preceding sentence; the last is a Declarative clause chiasitic perhaps with the following sentence (i. e., a chiasm of nouns, rather than of verbs as usual). In these cases the artistic arrangement seems to be the only principle inducing the inversion; there is no special emphasis discoverable.

(c) We may, I think, allow this chiasitic principle to account for the inversion of clauses which I have termed "indirectly chiasitic," that is, where the inverted order occurs in the second clause, but without the verb standing at its head, (in direct conjunction with the verb of the preceding clause). Examples would be, I 29, *ina gašiši uritu pagri girišu*; I 39, *naḫar malki lâ magirišu iksuda rabitu kâtsu*.

Both these clauses are second members of a Relative sentence. In the first there is certainly no emphasis to be looked for as causing the inversion, and probably not in the second, although the inverted adjective *rabitu* might lead one to emphasize also its noun. But just as we found in the earlier inscriptions a similar inversion of the third member, so here the usage is applied to the second and grows more frequent as we proceed in the historical inscriptions.

(d) Our attention is now called to a phenomenon in the realm of inversion which illustrates that stereotyped and crystalline nature of the language so often seen in other connections, namely the unvarying use of a certain expression in the inverted order wherever it occurs. The most noticeable phrase in this inscription is *ina....asakan mittak*. It occurs no less than 20 times in various similar



connections.\* I have been unable to find any reason for the constant inversion of this phrase, but the usage is very striking. The same word *mittak* is also found inverted in a phrase used three times in Col. II., *ana, or, ina ušmaniyama utera mittak*, the reason being no more apparent in this case than before. Another invariably inverted phrase is *akuš mašakšu* or *akuš mašakšunu*, which occurs five times in the first column (I 67sq., 89sq., 91sq., 93, 110). In this case we note that the same phrase *dûra uḫallib* follows each time. Some explanation may perhaps be found therefore in the fact that *uḫallib* may be construed with two objects and so the position of *mašakšu* is changed in order to bring the two objects together. Still another example under this head is found in III. 57, *ana Gargameš ašabat urḫu. urḫu* like *ḫarranu* is often found inverted in this expression.

(e) The remaining eight instances of inversion in this inscription (I 1, 4, 5, 7, 40; II 26; III 26 (two)) are all Relative clauses. The first five occur in passages descriptive of the sovereign, and the inversion seems to give a kind of exalted, poetic coloring. As such a usage is marked enough to be readily distinguished I shall call it "ascriptive." It indicates a development from the rigid style of Tiglath-Pileser. The last two are quoted from an inscription on a monument that the king set up, and suggest that the inverted order is chosen where formality and a lofty style are desired. But an entirely satisfactory explanation of these eight cases is lacking.

On the whole, then, in point of frequency of inversion, the development since Tiglath-Pileser is not very great, considering the length of the inscription, and yet more marked in Relative sentence than in Declarative, because confined largely to a small section of the inscription. The new tendencies noted are in the case of stereotyped phrases, indirect chiasm in the second clause, ascriptive clauses in a lofty or formal style, and Relative clauses where *ša* is anticipatory.†

#### D. Shalmaneser II.

The date of the annals of Shalmaneser is some thirty years later than the Ašurnasirpal inscription, but they show no advance in style, rather do they retrograde to the rigidity of Tiglath-Pileser. Theirs is the true annalistic style, exceedingly dry and repetitious. This is evidenced by the table.‡ There is therefore little to be noted concerning the order of the sentence. There is only one inversion, and this adverbial (I. 21 *išpunu abubaniš*. Cf. Mon. I 12). It is the second clause in a Relative sentence, and at the end of a paragraph, besides being chiasitic in arrangement. This being the sole exception to the normal order out of 260 sentences, the ratios of inversion are much reduced: Declarative, .000; Relative, .085; total, .004.

\* II 88, 91sq., 93, 94, 97sq.; III 2, 3, 3sq., 5, 6 (twice), 8, 9, 10sq., 12, 14, 14sq., 15sq., 72, 79; and to these we ought to add three cases where it is evidently understood, III 80, 81, 102.

† The analysis of I R. 27, No. 2, and 28, not being important, is omitted.

‡ See general table, later on.

The Monolith Inscription of Shalmaneser presents us with a more varied style, and resembles in general structure, composition, and vocabulary the annals of Ašurnāširpal. Although there are not many inversions (the ratio being Declarative, .026; Relative, .10; total, .032) yet the cases that occur are interesting as shedding a clearer light upon principles already stated. The higher ratio among Relative sentences is still maintained, but we have also a greater variety of usages in the Declarative sentence, which indicate a growth in the flexibility of the language. The principle of chiasm in the second clause becomes more prominent and is illustrated by three examples in Relative and two in Declarative sentences (I 9, 10, 12, 43sq.; II 98). One case of inversion owing to the use of *ḵātu* occurs (II 42). The remaining cases can be best brought out in their connection.

I 49. *ina ûmešuma adlul narbût ilâni rabûti ša Ašûr u Šamaš ḵurdišunu ušapa ana šati*, why the inverted order Object, Predicate, should have been used in the first clause is not clear; possibly it served to emphasize the object, or perhaps merely to preserve the symmetry of arrangement which will be noted in a moment. The adverbial inversion in the second clause however may come under the head of indirect chiasm. But looking more closely at the structure we can discover a beautiful balance of parts between the two clauses in chiastic order, which seems hardly a matter of chance. In the first we have Adverb, Verb, Object, Genitive. In the second just the reverse: Genitive, Object, Verb, Adverb. Because of this arrangement it is better to take *ša Ašûr u Šamaš* with the following clause, than as an appositive of *ilâni rabûti*, as might possibly be done.

In II 98sq. we have three cases of inversion in succession. The first has been cited under the head of chiasm, the other two are

*pân name ušamli rapsâte ummanâtišunu  
ina kakki ušardi damišunu.*

of which the inversion in the first is to be assigned to emphasis. Then the second clause is again inverted in indirect chiasm. The whole passage is intended to be vivid and striking and for this purpose inversions are used.

But how are we to account for the difference, certainly noticeable, between the two contemporaneous inscriptions in the frequency of inverted orders? One seems to uphold the advance made in the Ašurnāširpal inscription, while the other clings to the stiff style of Tiglath-Pileser. Certainly the fact that they were discovered in different places and therefore may have had different authorship must be allowed some weight, and also different subject-matter requires different treatment. The Monolith enters into details where the Annals simply record the fact, and therefore greater variety is required in the former. We must regard it as evidence that too close rules cannot be laid down for the style of any one period, but that results should be dealt with in the large, as illustrating tendencies and general principles rather than definite rules.



## E. Šamši-Ramman.

There follows after an interval of only a dozen years the inscription of Šamši-Ramman IV., and yet in respect to the order of the sentence there is a marked change in style, shown by the greatly disproportionate number of inversions in Relative sentences as compared with Declarative. This will appear from a glance at the table. All but one of the cases of inversion occur in the first column. The ratios of Declarative, .01; Relative, .63; total, .105. This shows a very large increase over any previous inscription in the ratio of Relative inversions, and brings the total ratio to twice its former figure at any time. It is plain, on the other hand, that the inverted order has not as yet found its way to any extent into Declarative sentences. The only instance in this inscription where I have not been able to discover a reason for the inversion is IV 2sq.: *ina birit Zaddi Zaban attabalkat nadbak šade*. Among the Relative inversions there are three cases of the chiasitic order (I 33, 41sq., 43), and two of the indirect chiasitic (I 44; II 48sq.). Another case of inversion, I 39sq. *enuma Ašurdaninpal..epuša limnêti*, calls attention to the artistic structure of the Relative sentence which it introduces. It consists of four pairs of clauses, with a contrasted order in each pair, thus: *enuma Ašûr...epuša limnêti* (inverted); *si-ḥumaštu...ušabšima* (normal); *mātu ušbalkitma* (normal); *ikšura taḥâzu* (inverted); *nišî Aššur...ittišu ušiškinma* (normal); *udan-nina tametu* (inverted); *mahâzâni ušamgirma* (normal); *ana epîš kabli...iškuna pânišu* (inverted). This example illustrates the parallel structure of Relative clauses already referred to, and the usage is found with increasing regularity in the later inscriptions.\* It is not clear what reason is to be given for the inversion of the first of the above clauses, whether it is due to the artistic order simply, or to a desire to emphasize *limnêti*. The remaining cases of inversion are to be found in I 6sq., 19sq., 21 (adverbial, chiasitic arrangement of nouns); I 11sq., 29sq., 32sq. These are all found in the introductory part of the inscription, and may be classed under the head of ascriptive inversions.

## F. Ramman-nirari III.

When in thirty years more we come to the inscriptions of Ramman-nirari III., and attempt their analysis, it is evident from the character of the material that we cannot expect the results to correspond very closely with those already obtained, for the inscriptions are all very short; they contain but a small proportion of narrative, and are mostly couched in that higher style which we have found so prolific in inverted orders. The several short inscriptions have all been grouped together in the classification presented in the table. The figures yield the following ratios for inverted orders: Declarative, .085; Relative, 1.25; total,

\*It is on account of this parallelism that I prefer, with Sheil, to connect *tametu* with *udan-nina*, rather than make it a construct with the following *mahâzâni*.

## GENERAL TABLE.

Declarative and Relative Sentences.	Before Targum-Pileser. Pud. III. 1350. Rammam-nirari I. 1325. Tukiat-Adar I. 1275. Ašur-rišīr. 1150.		Targum-Pileser I. (1100)		Ašurnasirpal (885-860) Annals.		Ašurnasirpal Monolith.		Hunting Inscript.		Shalmaneser II. (860-825) Annals.		Shalmaneser II. Monolith.		Samst-Rammam (825-812).		Rammam-nirari III. (812-783).	
	Declr.	Rel.	Declr.	Rel.	Declr.	Rel.	Declr.	Rel.	Declr.	Rel.	Declr.	Rel.	Declr.	Rel.	Declr.	Rel.	Declr.	Rel.
Number of Declarative Sentences.....	25	322	760	49	45	258	316	105	13									
“ “ Relative Sentences.....	21	86	119	24	12	12	32	31	19									
Total.....	46	408	879	73	57	270	348	136	32									
<i>Cases of Normal Order.</i>																		
Subject, Object, Predicate.....	6	4	16	18	8	23	5	2	1	1	3	1	11	4	..	3	..	1
Object, Subject, Object, Predicate.....	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
Object, Object, Predicate.....	..	..	6	3	10	..	1	..	2	..	1	..	8	..	4	..	..	..
Object, Subject, Predicate.....	..	..	..	9	..	4	..	1	..	4	..	..	..	4	..	..	2	..
Subject, Predicate.....	7	13	36	54	64	73	8	4	5	10	14	4	21	18	6	11	3	8
Object, Predicate.....	19	12	264	47	496	56	35	14	34	1	159	1	190	13	80	8	7	3





.555. While there is but one inversion in the Declarative sentences, in the Relative the inverted order actually predominates. But this is due to the peculiar character of the material, and therefore cannot rightly form a factor in a true estimate of the development, unless we compare it merely with the introductory portions of the previous inscriptions. With these it is quite in harmony but exhibits an increasing tendency toward inversions. The various instances of inverted order may be grouped as follows: (a) Examples of pure chiastic order, (No. 3.\* 1. 8 sq., 13, 18; No. 1. 1. 3); (b) examples of indirect chiasm, three (No. 3. 1. 3 sq.; No. 1. 1 sq., 4 sq.); (c) examples of ascriptive inversion, four (No. 3. 1. 26 sq.; No. 2. 1. 5, 6 (two cases)). The same pairing of Relative clauses with the second inverted, as remarked in Šamši-Ramman is noticeable here also. In other respects there is nothing of importance to be noted.†

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\* The numbers correspond to those in I R. 35.

† This closes the historical survey of the literature of the Old Assyrian kingdom. The New Assyrian, and the results obtained from the whole will be treated in a following paper.



## THE PENTATEUCHAL QUESTION. IV. EX. 13-DEUT. 34.

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\* A. Exodus—Chs. 13-34.

### SECTION XV. EXODUS 13:1-18:27.

The further the examination proceeds the more convincing is the evidence that the critical division of the Pentateuch is based not on evidence afforded by the Pentateuch itself but on the subjective fancies of the critics. A continuous, self-consistent, well accredited narrative, with every indication of unity of authorship is rent asunder upon flimsy pretexts, which give no warrant for such a procedure. It is not merely severed into sections or paragraphs of considerable size, whose style and diction, it might with a show of reason be claimed, could be fairly compared with one another, but in order to effect a separation it is found necessary to reduce it to minute fragments, clause is torn from clause and each assigned with positiveness to its particular author. And passages so firmly bound together, that no artifice can sunder them, are nevertheless violently broken up, and supposititious passages, which might be imagined to have been blended together in their formation, are confidently paraded as their true original sources. The appearance of contrariety is created, where none exists, by attributing meanings to isolated fragments, which are simply the creation of the critics' own brain, and by the double process of ejecting from the text and importing into it in a purely arbitrary manner, and as may best serve the purpose of the critics. The methods employed evince a determination to force through a preconceived scheme of division at all hazards, and would be equally successful, if applied with like ingenuity to any other treatise secular or sacred, however compactly united.\*

#### 1. Chapter 13:1-16.

In the legal portion of this chapter the majority of critics assign to P, vs. 1,2, Jehovah's command to Moses to consecrate all the firstborn, and to J, vs. 3-16 Moses' directions to the people respecting the feast of Unleavened Bread, and respecting the firstborn. Against this, however, Kuenen, Wellhausen and Jülicher enter a decided protest. Kuenen (Hex., p. 254,) maintains that vs. 1,2,

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\* A practical proof that the partition of any other work can be effected quite as readily as the Pentateuch and in precisely the same manner is furnished by *Romans Dissected*, a new critical analysis of the Epistle to the Romans, by E. D. McRealsham. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1891.

3-10, 11-16 are mutually connected ordinances, which stand in no connection with J, E or P, and are inserted here by Rj though not written by him. And (Hex., p. 168) he says that Ex. 13:2 is a very short and general precept, which has been elaborated in vs. 11-16. Jülicher urges the fact that in 13:1 Jehovah speaks to Moses only, instead of to Moses and Aaron as in 12:1, 43, it being an alleged characteristic of P, that he is disposed to give prominence to Aaron and associate him with Moses on all occasions; also that such brevity in stating so important a law is at variance with P's usage, and that there is not a single word in it that is peculiar to P.

In the view of Kuenen, then, there is no discrepancy between vs. 1, 2 and vs. 11-16 in regard to the hallowing of the firstborn such as has sometimes been alleged to exist. One is briefer and more general, the other is more particular and detailed, but their provisions do not conflict, and there is no reason on this ground why they should be assigned to distinct authors as though they involved different conceptions. Kuenen himself attributes them to kindred sources.

Num. 3:11-13, referred by the critics to P, makes it plain that the law hallowing the firstborn was given at the time of the exodus, and by general critical consent the law in Ex. 13:2 is there alluded to. But it is obvious that this verse cannot contain the entire law which was then given, for its terms are so general and vague that they could not be practically applied. It announces the principle, but more explicit directions are needed to show how it is to be carried into effect in the various cases which must arise under it. These directions are supplied in vs. 11-16, which are manifestly supplementary to and explanatory of v. 2. The relation of these two passages is distinctly set forth in the narrative itself. The Lord gives the law to Moses, v. 2, and Moses reports this law to the people, vs. 11-16. Evidently in the intention of the narrator it is the same law which Moses first receives from God and then makes known to the children of Israel. It was not essential in recording it that he should repeat it twice in all its details and in identical phrase. When it is first introduced in the communication made to Moses it is merely described in general terms and its more detailed directions are reserved for insertion when he comes to speak of its communication by Moses to the people for whose guidance it was intended.

The critics have violated their own principles by assigning v. 2 to P and vs. 11-16 to J, and reverse their own hypothesis as to the relation of these imaginary documents. P is conceived to be the priestly writer, who dwells diffusely and at length on all matters of law and ritual. J traces the history but takes little account of legal matters. Dr. Driver (*Introduction to Old Test.*, p. 26) tells us in regard to Ex. 12 and 13 "a noticeable difference between P and JE is the greater specialization and strictness of the provisions contained in the former narrative." If P wrote v. 2 and J vs. 11-16, the specialization is altogether in J, and so in Kuenen's phrase the more fully "elaborated" law is attributed to what the critics



agree to consider the earlier document. It is obvious that 13:2 cannot be regarded and cannot have been intended as a complete statement of the law of the firstborn. The bare direction that all the firstborn of man and beast should be sanctified to the Lord leaves it uncertain what was to be done in the case of their own children and of the ass, which as appears from this passage as well as from the Mosaic legislation generally was the one unclean domestic animal then in common use. It only becomes practically intelligible when vs. 11-16 is connected with it as its indispensable complement and proper explication. There is no good reason why these should be sundered from one another in spite of their intimate relationship and imputed to distinct writers as the critics propose. Nor is there the slightest ground for Jülicher's conjecture that this law has been transposed from its original position and that it should properly stand along with the pass-over before the exodus. The passover in its first celebration was intended for the protection of Israel from the destroying angel, while the law of the firstborn was based upon that protection as an accomplished fact.

The attempt is here made to justify critical partition on the ground of dissimilarity both in matter and in diction. Num. 18:5; Lev. 27:27, which are traced to P the alleged author of Ex. 13:2, are said to be at variance with 13:13. The difference amounts simply to this. The original regulation was that the firstling of an ass should be redeemed by a lamb or else killed. But after the sanctuary was set up and a regular priesthood instituted, the law was in consequence so far modified that a price was to be put upon the firstling of any unclean beast according to the estimation of the priest. The owner might redeem the animal by paying this price with one fifth added, or else it was to be sold.

Dr. Dillmann adduces five expressions in vs. 11-16 as distinctive of the style of J in distinction from P; with how much propriety will appear from the following exhibition of their usage.

מִצְרִים without אֶרֶץ v. 14; but so too in P, Gen. 47:6,7; 48:5; Ex. 1:1,5; 12:40; while with אֶרֶץ it occurs repeatedly in both P and J.

בֵּית עֲבָדִים vs. 3,14, nowhere beside in J; in Hex. only Ex. 20:2; Josh. 24:17 E, and six times in Deuteronomy.

נִשְׁבַּע of God vs. 5,11; four times in Genesis only once referred to J; Gen. 42:7 J; 22:16; 26:3 R; 50:24 E; besides in Hex. Ex. 32:13;

33:1; Num. 11:12; 32:11 J; Num. 14:16,23 R; twenty-nine times in Deuteronomy, four times in Joshua where it is referred to D or Rd.

Land of the Canaanites, v. 11; besides in Hex. only Deut. 1:7; 11:30 and Josh. 13:4 Rd.

מִחָר hereafter v. 14; in Hex. besides Gen. 30:33 J; Deut. 6:20; Josh. 4:6 Dill. refers to J, but Well. to D; Josh. 4:21 D; 22:18,24,27,28 Rd.

Not a single word in the whole number is distinctive of J upon the critic's own showing. The partition, it should be remembered, is their work, in which the utmost latitude is taken and no pains spared in so adjusting it, that as far as possible the same word may in every case be referred to the same document. It may be safely said that no evidence has been given which can set aside the clear testimony of the narrative that v. 2 and vs. 11-16 are connected parts of the same divine communication, and that they were delivered at the same time, and why should they not have been recorded by the same pen?

In vs. 3-10 Moses tells the people of the institution of the feast of Unleavened Bread, which the Lord had announced to him, 12:14-20. The latter passage according to Dillmann is out of place and belongs after the exodus instead of before it. He infers this from his assumption that the feast was designed to commemorate their being thrust out of Egypt with such haste that they could not leaven their bread, 12:34,39; and the festival could not have been ordained before the circumstance which gave rise to it had occurred. Moreover he urges the preterite tense in 12:17: "In this selfsame day have I brought your armies out of the land of Egypt." But this is the preterite of certainty as in Judg. 4:14 and often elsewhere. All is here in its proper place. The feast of Unleavened Bread was not instituted to commemorate the trivial inconvenience resulting from their hasty departure, but to symbolize the purity and freedom from the leaven of corruption, which became a people freed by the Lord from Egyptian bondage to be thenceforth consecrated to himself. As it was not to be observed until they should reach Canaan, Moses while repeating to the people, 12:21-28, the directions given him concerning the passover, 12:3-13, made no mention of the feast which was in future years to be associated with it. It was not until the people, who were compelled to leave their homes suddenly, were subsisting on unleavened bread that Moses improved the occasion to explain to them the nature of the festival by which they were thereafter to celebrate their exodus. What the Lord had enjoined to be done year by year as a religious service in the land of Canaan, they had been providentially constrained to do at the time of their departure from Egypt.

It is manifest that in the intention of the narrator Moses informs the people, 13:3-10, of the institution whose observance is enjoined, 12:14-20. In recording his language to them it was not necessary to repeat all the details which had already been laid before the reader in the preceding passage, especially as these were not to go into immediate operation.

In chs. 12, 13 the Lord gives to Moses the laws respecting the passover, 12:3-13, the feast of unleavened bread, vs. 14-20, and the hallowing of the firstborn, 13:1,2; Moses in turn gives them to the people, 12:21-28; 13:3-10, vs. 11-16. In each case the historian instead of duplicating the record by repeating verbatim in one passage what had already been said in the other, makes the passages mutually supplementary, assuming that his readers will mentally connect with one paragraph what is contained in the other treating of the same subject. It was needless to insist again upon the preparation for the feast and the penalty for failing to observe it, 12:15, the holy convocation to be held and the prohibition of servile work, v. 16. It was enough to dwell upon the general requirement of a seven days' feast of unleavened bread, 13:6,7. And yet this relation between the passages, which really binds them together and was so intended by the writer, is made the pretext for sundering them as though they were unrelated, independ-



ently conceived and the productions of distinct writers, the words of the Lord to Moses being assigned to P and those of Moses to the people to J.

It is alleged that these passages are in conflict, that 12:16 the first and seventh days are to be kept holy, but 13:6 only the seventh. This is refuted, however, as Dillmann confesses, by 13:3, which enjoins the commemoration of the first day likewise.

Dillmann urges in evidence that vs. 3-10 belong to J the following expressions in addition to those which these verses have in common with vs. 11-16, and which have already been considered.

*Abib*, v. 4, the popular name used in addressing the people and in the laws designed for the people, Ex. 23:15; 34:18; Deut. 16:1, while in Ex. 12 it is numbered the *first* in conformity with the declaration v. 2 that thenceforth it should be the beginning of months; and so in the laws designed for priestly use, Lev. 23; Num. 28.

The enumeration of the Canaanitish tribes, v. 5: According to Dillmann, J Ex. 3:8,17; 23:23 (though both passages are cut out of an E context and referred to J simply on account of this enumeration); Ex. 33:2; 34:11; E Num.

13:29; D or Rd, Gen. 15:19 sqq.; Deut. 7:1; 20:17; Josh. 8:10; 9:1; 11:3; 12:8; 24:11. Dr. Driver (*Introduction to Old Test.*, p. 112, note) traces these lists mostly to the compiler of JE.

*Land flowing with milk and honey*, v. 5; J Ex. 3:8,17; 33:3; Num. 13:27; 14:8; 16:13,14; D Deut. 6:3; 11:9; 26:9,15; 27:3; 31:20; Josh. 3:6. גבול is found in P Gen. 23:17; Num. 33:44 and repeatedly in the course of Num. 34 and 35.

בְּעֶבֶר does not chance to be found in a P section.

Wellhausen contends that 13:3-16 cannot belong to either J or E, but is a later appendage either by the Redactor, who combined those documents, or by a Deuteronomic reviser. He argues that, if this paragraph be omitted, the history will be continuous in the document JE, as 12:29-42 will then connect directly with 13:17 sqq., 12:43-13:2 being thrown out as belonging to P. This is of force only on the assumption that a historian can never pause in his narrative to insert statements, however important and appropriate, which do not directly continue the course of events. He further alleges that such an admonitory address to the people was utterly unsuitable in the confusion and haste of the exodus, which merely shows him to be out of sympathy with the religious demands of the situation and the purpose for which Israel was freed from the bondage of Egypt. He traces the characteristic expressions of this passage and its principal material to J, cf. 34:18-20, though with particulars borrowed from Deuteronomy. The spirit and tone of the passage is, he claims, a great advance on that of the patriarchal history, so much so that it cannot be imputed to the same writers; it indicates a far higher state of religious thought and feeling, and is akin with that of Deuteronomy.

Jülicher takes a similar view of this passage, points out numerous coincidences between its style and that of Deuteronomy and attributes it to the Deuteronomic Reviser, who touched up the history by introducing additions here and there to improve the theology and exalt the cultus.

It is obvious that this passage creates no small perplexity among the critics. The characteristic expressions gathered into this brief paragraph are of repeated occurrence. Egypt the house of bondmen; brought out by Jehovah by a strong hand; the Canaanites, Hittites, Amorites, Hivites, Jebusites; the land which Jehovah swore unto thy fathers to give thee; a land flowing with milk and honey; when thy son asketh thee in time to come, What is this? thou shalt say unto him; it shall be a sign upon thine hand and frontlets between thine eyes. These marked and peculiar phrases naturally suggest the common authorship of the passages in which they are severally found or at least their dependence upon a common source. And yet the critics find themselves obliged to parcel them between J, E, the compiler of JE, D and Rd, five distinct writers making use of the same remarkable forms of speech. The traditional view attributes them all to a single writer throughout the Pentateuch, who gave them a currency which accounts for their subsequent employment in the book of Joshua. Unless the testimony of these passages is overborne by considerations drawn from other quarters, the complicated solution offered by the critics will scarcely commend itself to candid minds.

## 2. Chapter 13:17-22, Chapter 14.

It is said that 13:17-19 E cannot be by the same writer as 14:1-4 P, because they assign different reasons for the route taken by the people. But these paragraphs relate to quite distinct matters. The former is a general explanation of the course adopted in leading Israel to Canaan. It gives as the reason why they did not march directly thither by the shortest route, but were conducted instead by a long and circuitous way through the wilderness, lest their encounter with the Philistines should incline them to return to Egypt. Another reason is suggested, 3:12, viz., God's intention to bring them to Mt. Sinai with a view to all that was subsequently transacted there. A much more plausible plea might be entered here of a diversity of conception and consequent diversity of authorship, but the critics are precluded from urging it, because this is assigned by them to the same document E. They abide by their own arguments when it is convenient to do so; otherwise they are quietly ignored. Ch. 14:1-4 relates, as has already been stated, to a different matter. It explains the particular line of march pursued in leaving Egypt. It gives the reason why after reaching the edge of the wilderness they were directed to turn back into Egyptian territory and encamp in the defiles on the western shore of the Red Sea. This is quite independent of the subject treated in 13:17-19, so that it involves neither repetition nor conflict and consequently affords no indication of a change of writers. Nor can this be inferred from Elohim four times in these verses, which is quite appropriate as emphasizing divine in distinction from human guidance. The peculiar term חֲמֹשִׁים *harnessed* is claimed as an E word, though it occurs nowhere else in the Pentateuch and both



times that it is found in Joshua (1:14; 4:12) it is ascribed to Rd. The allusion in v. 19 to Gen. 50:25 suggests a relation between the two passages, which we likewise affirm to be by the same author, but implies no partition of the narrative into distinct documents.

The critics commonly refer 13:20 to P because of its correspondence with Num. 33:6 and their assumption that the exact mention of localities must necessarily belong to him. But this assumption is so arbitrary and creates such needless difficulties for the hypothesis itself in other places, that Kayser and Vatke refuse their assent to it both here and in 12:37, the former ascribing both passages to J and the latter to E. Kuenen also hesitates. He says (Hex., p. 72) "the stations of the Israelites in their journey from Rameses to Sinai were unquestionably mentioned in P. But whether the data in 13:20; 15:22,27; 17:1; 19:1,2a came from thence must remain uncertain since they are now worked into narratives taken from elsewhere." The propriety of isolating this verse from the connection in which it stands and where it fitly belongs, is surely very dubious.

Ch. 13:21,22 are naturally linked with what precedes, and Kayser, Vatke, Kuenen account vs. 17-22 a continuous paragraph, as does Knobel (v. 20 excepted). But the disposition made of these verses is dependent upon the view taken of 14:19 in which Wellhausen discovered a doublet and other critics have since followed in his track; 19a with its Elohim is given to E and 19b to J, and the reference there made to "the pillar of the cloud" is deemed a sufficient reason for imputing 13:21,22 to J likewise. But against this Kuenen protests (Hex., p. 151) on the ground that "the column of cloud and fire, 19b, is the indispensable explanation of the statement about the angel of Elohim, 19a," inasmuch as "the angel must be identified with the column." If he had said that the pillar of cloud was the visible symbol of the presence of this divine angel and the outer covering that veiled his glory and that hence the two clauses of 14:19 belonged indissolubly together, see v. 24, his language would have been more exact. The hesitation of the critics in regard to the assignment of this passage, which some give to J and some to E, arises from the fact that it really belongs to both, since both make mention of it elsewhere, E in Ex. 33:9,10; Num. 12:5; Deut. 31:15, and J, Num. 14:14. Dillmann sees no way out of the embarrassment but to assume that vs. 21,22 were original with E, but borrowed from him by J, who changed Elohim to Jehovah, this complicated hypothesis being rendered necessary solely by the critical partition of that which properly belongs together. The use of "Jehovah" requires no explanation; it is the right word. It is the name of the God of Israel who led his people in their way.

The alleged discrepancy between JE and P in respect to the cloud is purely factitious. It is said that P simply says "cloud" while J and E say "pillar of cloud;" and that in P its first appearance was at the setting up of the tabernacle while in J and E it had guided the people from the time they left Egypt. But as

every passage in which "pillar of cloud" is found is for that reason referred to J or E, there is none left for P. And as J and E likewise say "cloud," Ex. 14:20; 19:9,16; 34:5; Num. 10:34; 11:25; 12:10; 14:14,\* it is no difference of usage if P does the same. Nor is there any implication in Ex. 40:34 that this visible token of the divine presence appeared then for the first time, but the reverse, inasmuch as the tent of meeting was covered not by a "cloud," but by "the cloud" הענן, showing that it had been mentioned before.

Most critics give 14:1-4 to P, but inasmuch as the last words of v. 4 "and they did so," connect directly with v. 2, Wellhausen contends that the intervening v. 3 and part of v. 4 are not from P but from E; and so are vs. 8a,16-18 which repeat the language of v. 4. He admits nothing to be from P in the entire chapter but vs. 1,2, the last clause of 4,8 (except the last clause), 9 (except the parenthesis), the last clause of 10 and 15 (except the question). All else that other critics assign to P he gives unhesitatingly to E; and Jülicher affirms that it is very difficult here to decide between them. It is commonly said by those who advocate the partition of the Pentateuch, that while J and E cannot always be separated with certainty, there is a clear line of demarcation between P and JE. We find here, as we have found before, see particularly Gen. 34, that this is not always the case. So long as they limit P to genealogies and legal sections and migrations and bits and scraps on the edge of narratives, they can manage fairly well; but whenever they concede to him a share in what they deem a composite narrative, they find the same perplexity in distinguishing P as either of the other documents.

Verses 5-7 are referred to E in distinction from vs. 1-4,8,9 P, because the motive of the pursuit is different. Nothing is said of the king's being induced to follow them because they were so shut in that they could not escape, as in v. 3; but only that he and his servants regretted that they had let Israel go. But these are not incompatible, and there is no reason why the same writer should not mention both, nor why he should repeat again what he had already said. It is further urged that according to v. 5 Pharaoh then first became aware from the conduct of Israel that their departure was final instead of merely a temporary sojourn in the wilderness to hold a festival; and that this corresponds to the representation in JE, in which this was all that Moses asked or Pharaoh conceded, whereas in P Moses demanded from the first that the people should be unconditionally released. But there is no such diversity as is here pretended. In order that Pharaoh's unreasonable obstinacy might be set in the strongest light, the only demand made upon him was that he should let the people go three

\* It is a sheer evasion to allege that in these passages R has substituted, no one knows why, "cloud" for "pillar of cloud," or to slice out the offending clause from a JE context and assign it to P. Notwithstanding his usual caution Dillmann so far forgets himself, which in so perplexed a muddle is not strange, as to assign a clause of Num. 14:14 first to R (p. 53) and then to P (p. 76) within the compass of a few pages.



days' journey into the wilderness that they might sacrifice to the Lord. There is not a single passage in which the request is put in any different form. The phrase "let my people go," 7:14; 8:2; 9:2, etc., alternates in JE passages with the fuller phrase "let my people go that they may serve me." And there is no reason for understanding it differently in the only two passages, in which the critics assign it to P, 7:2; 11:10. The reason for this course and its justification have been already set forth, *HEBRAICA*, VII., p. 141. And there is no discrepancy between the statement, v. 5, that "the people fled," and v. 8 that they "went out with a high hand," whether this latter expression be understood of the accompanying power of God, Ps. 89:14; Isa. 26:11, or their own bold and confident demeanor. "Fled" בָּרַח denotes the speed and completeness of their departure without implying timidity or cowardice as is evident from its use, Isa. 48:20; cf. 52:12 to describe the exultant exodus of the redeemed of the Lord from Babylon.

That vs. 3,4 cannot properly be severed from v. 2 is plain, because, as Dillmann argues, vs. 3,4 presuppose the command v. 2, to return again into Egyptian territory and would be unmeaning without it; and the command requires such a reason as vs. 3,4 supplies for its explanation. The expressions "harden Pharaoh's heart" (קָשָׁה Pl. Ex. 4:2; 10:20,27 E; 9:12; 11:10 P), "be honored" (כָּבֵד Gen. 34:19; Num. 22:17; 24:11 J; Ex. 20:12; Num. 22:15,37 E; Lev. 10:3 P) "know that I am Jehovah" (Ex. 5:2; 9:29 E; Well., J; 7:5,17; 8:10,22; 10:2 J; 6:7; 7:5; 16:12; 29:46 P; 9:14 R; Well. J), to which Dillmann appeals in justification of his reference of v. 4 to P, speak quite as strongly for Wellhausen's claim that it belongs to E. Or rather instead of lending any support to the critical partition, they tend to annul it, since these striking and peculiar expressions are suggestive of the common authorship of the passages in which they are found. There is no divergence in the representation made of Pharaoh's army. It is said that P vs. 9,17,18,23,26,28 speaks of horsemen as well as chariots, while E vs. 6,7 makes no mention of the former. But in v. 6 we read of Pharaoh's chariots and *his people* which must have been an additional branch of the military that is not more exactly defined. And, according to Josh. 24:6, which the critics ascribe to E, the pursuit was conducted "with chariots and horsemen." Dillmann's suggestion that this passage has been worked over is only an artifice to rid himself of unwelcome testimony. And the song, Ex. 15, which though not composed by E was in the judgment of the critics incorporated in his document, recites the overthrow of the horse and his rider, v. 1, as well as the chariots, v. 4. That the same host is called חֵיל vs. 4,9,28 P, and מְחַנֶּה v. 24 JE, is not surprising. The allegation that P says "children of Israel," vs. 2,8,15,16,22,29, while E says "the people," v. 5 overlooks the fact that E uses both expressions 13:17,19 and J also says "children of Israel," 14:10. Pharaoh pursued, v. 8, and the Egyptians pursued, v. 9, is not a doublet suggesting two different writers but simply a resumption after a parenthetic clause, as Judg. 17:3,4; 1 Sam. 4:12,13; 6:19. "Wherefore criest thou unto me?" v. 15 neither implies any want of congruity with v. 10 "the children of Israel cried unto Jehovah," nor any omission from the text. What is so obviously involved in the question and was so natural under the circumstances required no separate statement.

According to Dr. Dillmann, there are including the song in Ex. 15, four distinct and divergent accounts of the passage of the Red Sea, all of which nevertheless agree in the statement that Israel was in great peril from the Egyptian army, which had overtaken them by the sea, but escaped unharmed while the Egyptians were drowned. All of them are tinged with the miraculous but in different

degrees. The simplest story is that of the song, if its poetical description be not understood in a grossly literal sense. It records the destruction of the Egyptian host, but not a dry passage of Israel. The water was driven back by the wind, then the wind changed and the water returned submerging the host of Pharaoh. There were simply natural causes under divine direction. The miracle consisted in the rescue of the people from extreme danger without any agency of their own. In J, as in the song, a strong east wind divided the sea. But in E it was divided by the lifting of Moses' rod, and in P by the stretching out of Moses' hand, so that the waters stood like perpendicular walls on either side, until by the same instrumentality they were closed again. In E the angel of God and in J the pillar of cloud and fire keep the Egyptians from approaching the children of Israel, retarding their advance and throwing them into confusion, till overcome by terror they flee but are met by the reflux flood and not one of them escapes. A remarkable providence, in which there was nothing strictly supernatural, is thus gradually overlaid with legendary features.

But this series of graded narratives, which the critics affect to discover, is a chimera of their own imagination. They have simply obtruded their own ideas upon a text to which they are entirely foreign. The narrative is one and indivisible and is strictly self-consistent from beginning to end.

In v. 16 the Lord bids Moses "Lift up thy rod and stretch out thine hand over the sea," plainly meaning that he was to hold the rod in his hand when he stretched it forth. Yet the critics insist on sundering these closely related clauses and assigning "lift up thy rod" to E and "stretch out thine hand" to P, as though they were independent and varying statements. The various references to the rod in connection with the plagues of Egypt are made a pretext for parcelling them among different and conflicting documents; but it is as arbitrary and as baseless there as here. Wellhausen confesses that the rod cannot be separated from the hand of Moses and establishes the point by an abundance of parallels. In numerous passages where Aaron is mentioned and which the critics are constrained to refer to P, the hand and rod are combined or else the presence of the rod in the hand is plainly implied. Thus 7:19, Take thy rod and stretch out thine hand. 8:1,2 (5,6), Stretch forth thy hand with thy rod....and Aaron stretched out his hand. 8:12,13 (16,17), Stretch out thy rod....Aaron stretched out his hand with his rod. Similarly in the case of Moses, 9:22,23, Stretch forth thine hand....and Moses stretched forth his rod; so again 10:12,13. In 17:9,11, When Moses held up his hand and Israel prevailed, the rod of God was in his hand, cf. Josh. 8:18. The general direction given to Moses at the outset was, Ex. 4:17, Take this rod in thine hand wherewith thou shalt do signs. It is absolutely in the face of their own admissions elsewhere, as well as directly counter to the clear testimony of numerous passages to draw a distinction between the lifting of Moses' rod and stretching out his hand, and make this a basis for the critical



division of the narrative into different documents.\* It is further obvious that in vs. 21, 26, 27, where the hand alone is mentioned, the rod is implied.

The attempt to establish a diversity in the narrative in respect to the agency by which the sea was divided is equally arbitrary and destitute of any foundation. It is foisting a distinction upon the passage, which it neither makes nor suggests, but which is purely a creation of the critics' own fancy, when the first clause of v. 21 is made to mean that the simple stretching out of Moses' hand unaccompanied by any external agency was followed by the parting of the waters; and the second clause that a violent wind accomplished the result without any action on the part of Moses. And these are affirmed to be the different conceptions of distinct writers, between whom the clauses are accordingly parcelled. This is without a particle of justification in the passage. Moses lifts his hand with the rod, whereupon Jehovah sends the wind, which not by mere natural force but as the palpable embodiment of divine power drives back the sea and opens the passage way for Israel. All belongs together as one consistent conception. It is here precisely as in the plague of the locusts, to which there is a verbal allusion, v. 28b, cf. 10:19b, wherein upon the stretching forth of Moses' rod Jehovah sent a wind, which brought the locusts. The critics attempt the same partition there as here and with as little reason. There is no suggestion in either case of an event brought about by purely natural causes as opposed to a supernatural event produced by the immediate power of God; and no partition is possible on that basis. The wind came from Jehovah and was clothed with power to do his bidding.

And as to the result effected there is no difference of statement, nothing whatever on which to base the allegation that legendary additions have been subsequently attached to the original narrative. The prose narrative does not exaggerate the language of the song. It is more difficult to interpret 15:8 consistently with the laws of fluids than to put a figurative sense on vs. 22, 29, cf. Nah. 3:8.

The part assigned to E in this chapter is of the most fragmentary sort, a mere jumble of disconnected paragraphs and clauses. Pharaoh makes ready his chariots, vs. 5-7, but nothing is said of his pursuing Israel. The next that we hear is v. 15, "Why criest thou to me?" with no intimation who is crying or what for. Then follows the command, v. 16, "Lift up thy rod," but no indication of the purpose for which this is done or of the effect that follows. There is no mention of the dividing of the sea, the deliverance of Israel or the destruction of the Egyptians. And yet E is supposed to have contained the song, which makes allusion to all these events. So that what has been severed from E and assigned to the other documents must after all have been a part of the same original narrative. It is to be observed further that the analysis is not based on the alleged

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\* Dillmann, while separating the hand from the rod in this place, admits in his comment on 17:11 that frequently only the hand is mentioned, when the rod is likewise intended.

diction and literary characteristics of the so-called documents; but leaving these almost entirely out of view it is simply an ingenious attempt at slicing apart verses and clauses and recombining them in parallel narratives with some show of continuity.

The grounds of partition, so far as any are offered, have already been examined in detail and found to be invalid. The narrative is continuous and consistent as it stands and requires no reconstruction. The record is miraculous and discredited on that account by a certain class of critics. But their partition does not mend the matter, for it is impossible to eliminate the miraculous by any critical method that has yet been devised.

### 3. Chapter 15.

The antique character of this song is generally confessed. Knobel and Dillmann point out many interesting indications of its early date in its language and in its general resemblance in rhythm and structure to other pieces of acknowledged antiquity. Such facts as these, together with the habit of the people to celebrate signal deliverances in song, lead even the most advanced critics to believe that one was sung on this occasion, which, if not identical with that which is here preserved, was the germ from which it sprang. Jülicher and Kittell find the original in Miriam's refrain, v. 21. Dillmann concedes the genuineness of vs. 1-3 and perhaps more. Knobel objects that vs. 8,10 could not have been composed at the time, for they introduce a miraculous feature that does not correspond with the actual fact; which Dillmann sets aside on the ground that these verses are poetical and figurative. But if there was a real miracle, and of this the song is a fresh corroboration, the objection is converted into an argument of genuineness.

The chief stumbling block of the critics, however, is in vs. 13,17, which it is urged imply settlement in Canaan and the erection of a sanctuary there; whence they conclude that in its present form it is a psalm sung at the passover feast in commemoration of this ancient deliverance. But instead of presupposing that the people were resident in Canaan, it declares precisely the reverse. They were on their way thither in the confident hope of a future possession which they had not yet attained. When God is said, v. 13, to have led the people which he had redeemed and to have guided them to his habitation, the preposition is לָאֵלֹהִים *to*, denoting direction, Gen. 31:5; Ex. 25:20; Num. 24:1; Isa. 38:2; Ezek. 4:3; Dan. 12:7, but not necessarily suggesting that the point aimed at had been reached. God had led his people through the sea by his mighty power on their way to Canaan, and the fame of this marvellous deed would spread terror and dread among all the inhabitants of the land and the populations by which Israel must pass on their way thither. It gave assurance that the Lord would bring them in and plant them in the mountain of his inheritance, that is, as Wellhausen correctly explains it, Proleg. p. 23 note, the mountain-land which he had designed to

be the heritage of his people. "The place, O Jehovah, which thou hast made for thee to dwell in, the Sanctuary, O Lord, which thy hands have established" (or according to the strict meaning of the Hebrew verb, shall have established). This looks forward to a future introduction into and establishment in the land of promise, the land for which they had left Egypt, and where the Lord would locate his sanctuary among them. There is in this no specific reference to Jerusalem, as Dillmann admits, and no indication where or what this sanctuary would be. It simply anticipates Jehovah's permanent abode in the land which he had destined for his people. Instead of departing in any respect from the situation, in which the song is represented to have been composed and sung, it is in perfect accord with it and reproduces exactly the feelings which may be supposed to have been uppermost in the hearts of all.

The critics are not agreed whether vs. 22-27 are composite or from a single source. Kayser, Wellhausen, Vatke refer all to the same writer, either J or E. Jülicher is alone in giving vs. 25b, 26 to Rd. Schrader and Dillmann give v. 27 to P, while Nöldeke and Knobel give him in addition vs. 22, 23, principally on account of the close verbal correspondence with Num. 33:8, 9 P. But vs. 22, 23 are evidently preliminary to vs. 24 sqq. The critics have to assume that the stations mentioned in this passage belong alike to P and JE, and the only question is which document is to be made continuous at the expense of the other? Shall the critical rule prevail that all marches are to be imputed to P or must these verses not be torn out of their connection?

The critical argument from language is here of the feeblest sort, and such as it is confined to vs. 22, 23. It is alleged that the following words in v. 22 do not occur in P.

יִיִּסֵּן Hiph. nowhere else in Hex.  
יִשְׂרָאֵל (standing alone as the name of the people) is found repeatedly in P, Ex. 12:15; Lev. 9:1; 20:2; 22:18; 23:42; Num. 1:3, 16, 44; 8:13; 4:46; 7:2, 84; 10:4; 18:14; 25:8 bis, 14; 26:2; 32:22.

יָם סוּף in P Num. 33:10, 11.  
שׁוּר (for which P is said to have אָתָּם Ex.

13:20; Num. 33:8) is found in a P connection Gen. 25:18, but is sliced off and given to J.

The etymology in v. 23 has its parallel in P, Gen. 17:5, 17, 19, 20.

שָׁם לֹו חָק וּמוֹשָׁפֵט v. 25 recurs Josh. 24:25 E, which is urged as proof that it belongs to that document and yet Jehovah occurs four times in vs. 25, 26.

#### 4. Chapter 16.

The critics make of this chapter a most extraordinary piece of patchwork, each after his own fashion. They generally complain loudly of the inconsistency and confusion which reigns in the existing text, which they undertake to remedy by critical partition, but without being able to arrive at anything like harmony in their conclusions. Vatke apparently has no difficulty in admitting the unity and consistency of the entire chapter. Nöldeke does the same, only assuming that a few expressions have been inserted in vs. 4, 15, 31,\* which occur elsewhere in what



he considers a different document. Other critics insist on measuring the chapter by standards of their own, and eliminating what is not conformed to their own ideas instead of judging of the relevancy of each part and the coherence of the whole from its correspondence with the writer's point of view and the plan upon which he conducts his narrative. Impressed with the notion that a composite structure must be made out wherever it is practicable to do so, every superficial diversity is pressed into the service without pausing to inquire into its real explanation.

Thus as v. 12 speaks of the Lord supplying the people with bread and flesh of the lack of which they had complained, γ. 2, while vs. 4,5 make no mention of flesh, but only engage to give them bread from heaven, it is proposed to divide vs. 1-15 on the assumption that two narratives have here been combined, one of which J simply recorded the gift of manna, while the other P joined with this the gift of quails. This occurrence is moreover identified with that related in Num. ch. 11, where manna and quails are again in combination; and it is said that inasmuch as J's account of the sending of the quails is given in that passage, it of course does not appear here.

The entire basis, on which the proposed analysis reposes, falls away, however, as soon as the reason is disclosed why exclusive prominence is given to the manna in vs. 4,5. The Lord is not there making a direct response to the murmurings of the people. He makes a disclosure to Moses, which is not to be at once communicated to the people but is for Moses' own information. The Lord simply informs him that he will take this occasion to test their obedience to his law in a manner which he intimates. As this was to be done by means of the manna and not by the quails, the manna only could be properly spoken of in this connection. There is no warrant in this circumstance, therefore, for the assumption of a double narrative, especially as it is obvious that in the intention of the writer the manna is the principal thing, to which the quails are subordinate. He devotes but a single clause, v. 13a, to the bestowment of the quails, while the manna and the test of obedience which it afforded occupy the great body of the chapter.

The critics, however, build their structure upon this sandy foundation. In assigning the introductory vs. 1-3 to P and vs. 4,5 to J, they at once involve themselves in the difficulty that these latter must have been preceded by just such a preface as has been stricken from them. There must have been a mention at least of the place, if not also of the time at which this event occurred, as in v. 1. And while the Lord does not in vs. 4,5 rebuke the murmurings of the people as in v. 12, which is a message to be delivered to them, nor even make any direct men-

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\* In v. 4 רַבֵּר יוֹם בִּיּוֹמוֹ *a day's portion per day*, as 5:13,19 E, but also Lev. 23:37 P; all in Hex. נִסָּה *prove* Gen. 22:1; Ex. 15:25; 20:20; Num. 14:22 E; Ex. 17:2,7 J. Verse 15 an Aramaeic etymology like Gen. 31:47 E. Verse 31 כּוֹרֵעַ גֵּר *like coriander seed*, from Num. 11:7 E.

tion of their complaints, these furnished the occasion and are implied in what he says and proposes to do. There must accordingly have been a previous statement of the emergency which called for this action, the destitution of the people and their refractory conduct which led to the application of a test whether they would be obedient when the destitution was relieved. So strongly is this need felt that Knobel assigns v. 3 to J and Dillmann seeks to find a suitable heading for both the narratives in v. 3, but apparently without being able to satisfy himself how to accomplish it. In his commentary *in loc.* he gives 3b to P as קהל assembly is a P word and 3a to J, but this has flesh pots as well as bread in it, which wrecks the fundamental assumption. To remedy this in his concluding dissertation, pp. 624, 634, he allots v. 3 to both documents, taking refuge in the manipulation of R who has here tied a knot which cannot be disentangled. Most critics acquiesce in a headless narrative for J, notwithstanding the fact that complaints of this sort are elsewhere held to be attributable to JE, e. g., 14:11; Num. 20:4,5, and that the necessity laid upon them to concede v. 3 to P annuls their claim that such passages are from a different document.

The critics take offence that Moses anticipates the Lord's direction by making the precise announcement to the people in v. 8, which he is first told to declare to them in v. 12. Jülicher is displeased that first Moses and Aaron v. 7, then Moses v. 8, then Aaron vs. 9,10, then the Lord v. 12 make the same statement in identical language that Jehovah had heard the murmurings of the children of Israel. And he adds that if one author could write thus in the first instance and free from the constraint of older documents, it is silly to engage in Hexateuch criticism. We are inclined to agree with him so far as concerns that carping style of criticism, which makes mountains of molehills.

The critics struggle each in his own way with the incongruity, which they seem to themselves to have detected, and bring the varied expedients of their art to bear upon it. Wellhausen throws vs. 6-8 out of the text as a gratuitous interpolation by R. But Dillmann points out that vs. 6,7 contain the answer of Moses and Aaron to the murmurings of Israel in vs. 2,3. "It is the Lord, not we, who has brought you out of Egypt, and he will display to you his glory. It is against him not us that your murmurings are directed." He urges, therefore, that vs. 6,7 are in their proper place, only v. 8 is a gloss introduced by R to give his interpretation of their meaning.\* Others attain the same end by transposition. Jülicher expunges vs. 6,7 and transposes v. 8 after v. 12. Driver makes vs. 6-8 follow vs. 9-12. Kuenen adopts the order vs. 11,12,9,10,6,7 and rejects v. 8 as a later insertion.

This free variety certainly suggests that there is a large subjective element in these conclusions. And it may be well to inquire whether the perplexity which

\* In the Dissertation at the end of his Commentary, p. 634, Dr. Dillmann appears to recede from this position and to rank v. 8 as an original constituent of the context in which it stands.

so embarrasses the critics is as serious as they imagine. It is no unusual thing for Moses to expound the divine purposes or requirements, when it is to be assumed that he has been instructed to do so, even though this fact has not been formally stated, cf. vs. 19,23,25,32; Num. 16:5,28. It is not strange, therefore, for Moses to speak as he does, v. 8. Nor is it strange that what he had said to the people, should be freshly confirmed in solemn majesty from the mouth of Jehovah appearing in glory in the cloud, v. 12; nor that the people should be so repeatedly and emphatically admonished that Jehovah had heard their murmurings. The confusion, of which the critics complain, does not exist and their proposed remedies are uncalled for.

It is further said that v. 5 cannot be from the same pen as v. 22. The double supply of manna on the sixth day would not have excited surprise, if Jehovah had before declared that this should be the case. But though this had been made known to Moses, he did not tell the people till the occasion arose, v. 23.

A criterion for the division of the latter half of the chapter is sought in the last clause of v. 4, J. Those verses, in which the manna is made to test the people's obedience to God's law, belong to J. Hence Knobel gives him vs. 27-30; to which Dillmann adds vs. 25,26 as an essential part of the same paragraph, and vs. 19,20 as an additional trial. In these verses no mention is made of the quantity collected by each person, while the fact is emphasized in other verses that each one gathered precisely the same amount. These latter are accordingly given to P, vs. 16-18,22-24, Dillmann. Wellhausen draws the line more sharply by sundering the clauses 16a and 18b "gather every man according to his eating," as though this were inconsistent with an omer to each; a nicety, which other critics, Kittell excepted, think fit to disregard. The variation in details between different critics need not be here recited, though they are considerable and fluctuate between the idea of two separate narratives and one narrative supplemented by disconnected additions. It is of consequence to our purpose chiefly as showing the indefiniteness of the reasons which guide in the decisions. But the whole basis of the partition is itself a fallacy. There is no incompatibility between making the manna a test of obedience and each person gathering an equal quantity. Both facts are stated in a closely connected narrative; but this affords no imaginable justification for rending it asunder.

The diversities alleged are too trivial for serious consideration. "Worms," v. 20, are תולעים and v. 24, רמה. Manna melted in the sun, v. 21, yet was baked, v. 23. It is charged that vs. 15 and 31 are doublets, because the former notes the exclamation of surprise or curiosity, with which the manna was greeted on its first appearance, and the latter states that this became its permanent name. Driver, like Nöldeke, Kayser and Vatke disregards them entirely.

The result of the analysis, which we have been considering, is strikingly at variance with current critical views. It is commonly represented that P relates



history for the sake of the ritual or of legal institutions, to which it leads or which are based upon it, while J records facts for their own sake. Here these parts are precisely reversed. P deals with the facts without any ulterior aim, and in J the manna is but a stepping stone to the observance of the Sabbath. This is so opposite to the accepted characteristics of these hypothetical documents that Kuenen and Jülicher reject the above analysis and adopt another based on a wholly different principle. They agree with the critics already considered in making P the groundwork of the chapter; but they deny that any part of it belongs to JE. The additions were made by later diaskeuasts in the interest of a stricter observance of the Sabbath, vs. 4,5,22-27,28-30, and of magnifying and handing down the memory of Jehovah's goodness in giving the manna, vs. 31-34. So Kuenen. Jülicher differs in details, but is at one with him in the principle.\* This obliteration of the distinction insisted upon by the rest, and substitutes new lines of division based on a different conception.

But the partition is as unwarranted and as arbitrary as before. It assumes in advance a given course of religious development, and makes that the standard by which questions of date and authorship are to be decided. Why the narrative of the manna, the inculcation of the observance of the Sabbath, and the charge to preserve a memorial to future generations may not have been recorded by the same writer, it is difficult to see. At least some further proof must be demanded than an oracular dictum that thus it must be, or an *a priori* hypothesis unconfirmed by facts.

It is at least clear here again that the dividing line between P and JE is not so clearly marked as the critics would have us believe. It is in controversy whether this whole chapter belongs to P or only a part, and if so whether the rest is J and if so how much, or whether the additions are from an entirely different source.

The further question is raised whether this chapter is in its proper place or has been transferred from another position. The latter has been argued partly from a comparison of this chapter with Num. 11, and partly from the contents of the chapter itself. On the assumption that the same event is related in these two chapters it is asked whether it belongs where Ex. 16 now stands prior to the arri-

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\* Jülicher's conception of the documents, which determines his analysis, is thus stated by himself (*Jahrb. f. prot. Theol.* for 1882, p. 288); J and E relate history for its own sake, P and D (Rd) from tendencies exterior to itself; D to make use of it as a text for preaching and to add reflections of no very varied type, P to attach to it institutions of the cultus and laws of a religious and hierocratic character. In his view vs. 21-26 which connect the law of the Sabbath with the manna belong to P, but vs. 28-30,32-34 to Rd. And he is particular to explain how it came to pass that while P was subsequent to D and Rd (by whom Deuteronomy was attached to JE) his work nevertheless passed through deuteronomic hands. The deuteronomic ideas attached to P sections here and especially in the book of Joshua, in his opinion require the assumption that the work of revising in a deuteronomic interest continued to a very late period. And thus hypothesis must be built on hypothesis in order to relieve the difficulties which the critical partition itself creates.

val of Israel at Sinai, or with Num. 11 subsequent to their departure from it. Again it is said that the Sabbath law is here presupposed, vs. 23 sqq., and that vs. 33,34 imply the existence of the tables of the law, the ark and the tabernacle, all which belong to a later time. But on the other hand the occurrences in Ex. 16 and Num. 11 are not to be identified. Num. 11:6 plainly does not record the first appearance of the manna. The forty years, Ex. 16:35, during which they ate manna must cover the entire sojourn in the wilderness. The precision in the statement of the time and locality, 16:1, implies that something of importance occurred then and there. This would be superfluous, if vs. 2-36 were not here originally, but 16:1 connected immediately with 17:1. The Sabbath law may have been given prior to the proclamation of the ten commandments at Sinai. The preservation of the pot of manna may be proleptically introduced here to complete the statements on this subject, although the command was given at a later time. There is nothing in v. 35 that Moses could not have written, at any rate, in the plains of Moab. Its two clauses surely need not have been extracted from different documents. Nor is it necessary to assume that v. 36 is a gloss of later date, when the measures of an earlier period had become unfamiliar. There is no evidence that the omer ever was in use as a measure. The probability is that it was not, as it occurs nowhere in that sense outside of this chapter. It likely was a small vessel in common use in every family, which it was therefore natural to employ in gathering the manna; hence the occasion for defining its size.

#### 5. Chapter 17.

Here v. 1 is given to P and the following narratives are divided between J and E. The effect of this is that P mentions for no reason, so far as appears, that there was no water at Rephidim, for it was attended with no further consequence. This cannot be relieved, as has been proposed, by assigning the last clause of v. 1 to J, for it is assured to P by Num. 33:14, with its allusion to the circumstance here narrated. Still further vs. 2sqq. are then left with no hint of the place, where this event occurred, although "there," v. 3, implies that it had been mentioned just as we find it in v. 1. In v. 8 the people are still at Rephidim, at which in v. 1 they arrived. This chapter cannot, therefore, be torn asunder, if references from one part to another are an indication of unity. Kayser and Vatke accordingly both feel constrained to link v. 1 to what follows, the former giving the whole chapter to J,\* and the latter ascribing vs. 1,2,7 to P.

Schrader sees no ground for sundering vs. 2-7, though most critics find a doublet in vs. 2 and 3.

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\* The critics commonly make "the congregation of the children of Israel" a criterion of P and refer every verse or clause which contains it to him: but that this should alternate with "people" in v. 1 is no more strange than that the latter alternates with "children of Israel" in vs. 2,7.

And as "chide" **רִיב** and "tempt" **נִסָּה** in v. 2 are evidently introduced as explanatory of the names Massah and Meribah v. 7, vs. 2, 7 are ascribed to J and vs. 3-6 to E. But while its relation to v. 7 accounts for the form of v. 2 and makes it a necessary part of the narrative, v. 3 is equally essential if the writer wished to insert the language of the people's murmurs. Instead of these verses being mutually exclusive and suggestive of different writers, they belong together and supplement each other.

Jülicher followed by Kittell partitions the clauses of vs. 5,6 between J and E, as though "go on before the people" represented a different conception of the spectators of the scene from "take with thee of the elders of Israel;" and "I will stand before thee there upon the rock," was suggestive of an exercise of divine power without human instrumentality, and so to be discriminated from "thou shalt smite the rock." Such a rending apart of what belongs together and injecting a discordance where none exists, are customary methods of effecting critical dissection. This instance, glaring as it is, is not really more so than others which have found more acceptance.

The name Meribah *chiding* or *strife* given to this place because of the chiding of the children of Israel was likewise given to Kadesh subsequently where a somewhat similar scene occurred. This has been made a pretext for alleging that these are but variant accounts of the same transaction, in spite of the explicit testimony of the sacred historian to the contrary, and of the manifest difference of time and place and attendant circumstances, as well as of subsequent allusions which clearly distinguish them, one being called by its alternate designation Massah, Deut. 6:16; 9:22, and the other Meribah-Kadesh, Num. 27:14; Deut. 32:51; Ezek. 47:19; 48:28. It has been claimed that still another divergent story is implied, Deut. 33:8. In the narratives the people are said to have tempted or proved Jehovah, and to have striven with Jehovah. In this passage Jehovah is said to have proved his godly one, i. e. Aaron at Massah, and striven with him at the waters of Meribah. This is simply another aspect of the same transactions. While the people were chiding with their leaders Moses and Aaron and murmuring against God, Moses and Aaron were themselves put to the test and their constancy and fidelity severely tried by these occurrences, and at Meribah Kadesh the Lord's controversy with them was such as to exclude them from Canaan. Dillmann discredits the miracle altogether and declares the digging of the well described, Num. 21:16-18, is another and simpler view of the way in which a supply of water was procured for the people. If a critic's unsupported conjecture outweighs the statement of a trustworthy historical record, so it must be. Horeb is the name not of a peak but of a range of mountains; and the rock which was the scene of this miracle was doubtless in the immediate vicinity of Rephidim.



Joshua, v. 9, receives by anticipation this name which was given him at a later time, Num. 13:8,16. The unity of vs. 8-16 is commonly conceded, and its continuity with the preceding is vouched for by its occurrence at Rephidim, cf. v. 1. Schrader stands alone in sundering vs. 14-16 from the verses which precede and to which it is intimately related. Wellhausen remarks that there is no mention that the command, v. 14, was obeyed and Jülicher that the language attributed to the children of Israel, v. 7, had not been used in the preceding narrative; which shows not that the record is incomplete, or that anything has been dropped from the text, but that the author left some things which were sufficiently obvious of themselves to the intelligence of his readers.

The language of this chapter affords no justification of the critical partition which is here proposed. The wording of the complaint, v. 3b E, resembles that in 16:3b P too closely to be from different pens. The "elders of Israel," the "rod" with the allusion to 7:20, and Horeb are claimed as marks of E; but they are not so in any distinctive sense. On the critics' own division "elders of Israel" is found in J, 12:21; 24:1,9; Num. 11:16,24,25; Josh. 7:6, also in P, Lev. 9:1, where it is combined in the same context with "children of Israel," v. 3, and "congregation" כל העדה v. 5 as here vs. 1,7; and in Lev. 4:15 זקני העדה "elders of the congregation" are united in the same expression. The rod of Moses is only assigned to E by an arbitrary allotment, and this can only be carried through by repeatedly sundering clauses that contain it from their proper connection. Nevertheless Moses' rod is in J, 4:2,4 and this is expressly identified with the one by which miracles were wrought, 7:15. The rod, which Moses directs Aaron to use and which in the intention of the narrator, or, if the critics please, the redactor, is identical with that of Moses, cf. 7:15-20, is repeatedly given to P, 7:9-12,19; 8:1,12,13. \* In 14:16 it is sliced out of a P context and given to E, though there is nothing in E with which to connect it. In Num. 20:9 Dillmann concedes it to P; and in v. 11 it occurs with עדה congregation, which creates the quandary that the rod must be given to P, or עדה which is alleged to be uniformly characteristic of P must be given to E, or R must be invoked to relieve the difficulty. Horeb occurs but twice beside in the Hexateuch, apart from Deuteronomy viz. Ex. 3:1; 33:6. Its use here is plainly required by the situation. Israel had not yet reached Sinai, 19:1, but was in the vicinity of another point in the range, which collectively bore the name of Horeb. If גבר, v. 11 and חלש, v. 13, are claimed for E, because גבורה and חלושה occur 32:18, it is to be said that except in one poetic passage, Gen. 49:26, גבר only occurs beside in the Hex., Gen. 7:18,19,20,24 P. Hur is mentioned again, Ex. 24:14 E, but so he is 31:2; 35:30; 38:22 P. In v. 9 "the rod of God" is so called because of the divine power that accompanied it so that Elohim is entirely in place; but if this is held to be a mark of E, how is it with Jehovah, vs. 4,5,14-16? Schrader is alone in his attempt to relieve this in part by ascribing vs. 14-16 to J, and thus separating them from the verses which precede and give them all their meaning.

## 6. Chapter 18.

We are told that this chapter belongs to E, since Elohim occurs in it so frequently. But as Jehovah is found in the first twelve verses quite as often as Elohim, it is assumed that J had the same story and R has introduced clauses from it here and there. Thus v. 1b is pronounced superfluous, whereas it emphasizes the chief benefit included in the more general statement of v. 1a. There is no repetition in v. 8; the first clause relates to the plagues and the events of the exodus, the last clause to what had taken place since. And the partition of the

verse would not at any rate answer the purpose of the critics, for Jehovah occurs in both clauses. Verses 9,10 are not doublets, for the former describes Jethro's feelings, the latter tells how he gave expression to them. Neither is there any redundancy in v. 10 itself; for delivering out of the hand of the Egyptians, as was done at the Red Sea, is distinct from delivering from under their hand or from Egyptian bondage. Jülicher accordingly admits that there is nothing to justify the assumption of a parallel account from J, but only a rhetorical tendency to fulness and embellishment. The deliverances referred to are so grand that they are dwelt upon and emphasized.

But then there is no way of accounting for the repeated use of Jehovah except charging it upon R. This is the expedient constantly resorted to by the critics in similar dilemmas. It is, however, a dangerous venture, for it really unsettles their whole hypothesis. All the arguments and the criteria on which they base their partition rest on the primary assumption that the texts of the different documents have been accurately preserved, and especially that the names of God have been transmitted unaltered. If Elohim has been changed into Jehovah six times within the compass of twelve verses for no apparent reason, and as many times in the chapter immediately preceding, not to speak of numerous other instances which have been pointed out before and those which will come into view hereafter, what have they to anchor to? And the more complicated their scheme, the worse it is for them. The more minute the fragments which they undertake to select out and recognize on the one hand, and the more numerous the redactors and the more frequent and comprehensive the revisions and textual modifications which they are compelled to assume on the other, the more precarious all their reasoning becomes. Unsettling the text as they do by their arbitrary assumptions, they of necessity cut away the ground from beneath their own feet.

In actual fact there is no mystery whatever in the use of the divine names in this chapter. It is only necessary to bear in mind that Jethro was not an Israelite. It was natural, therefore, that Elohim should be used in what he says and in what is said of him and to him, so vs. 12 sqq., except where there is explicit reference to Israel's God, cf. v. 11, so vs. 8-10. In v. 1 both forms of speech are combined; the divine benefit conferred upon Moses and Israel, of which Jethro had heard, culminated in the God of Israel's having led them out of Egypt. "The God of my father," Abraham or Jacob, v. 4, is as specific as the God of Israel. "The mount of God," v. 5, is so called from the divine manifestations there made to Moses, 3:1, and to Israel, ch. 19 sqq.

That there is no discrepancy in the various passages relating to Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, was shown, *HEBRAICA*, VII., pp. 118-9. The mention of him here consequently affords no ground for critical partition. Nor does his bringing Moses' wife and sons to him, which is not in conflict with the statement, 4:20,24-26, that he took his wife with him when he left Midian, *HEBRAICA*,

VII., p. 122. It is expressly stated that he had sent her back, which was a most natural thing for him to do, when he discovered that difficulties were likely to arise from Pharaoh's refusal to let the people go. The critics refer this clause in 18:2 to R for no reason but that a seeming discrepancy can thus be created. The allegation that if she had been sent back, this would have been stated at the time of its occurrence, is without foundation. The mention of Zipporah is purely incidental. The historian was not tracing her life and fortunes. It is his habit thus to suggest when the occasion arises, what he had not thought it needful to mention before, cf. Gen. 13:1; 14:14; 15:7; 19:14; 20:12,13; 32:3. To explain the identity of 2:22 and 18:3 the critics have to assume that J has copied from E, whereas the simple fact is that the writer here repeats the mention already made of Moses' eldest son now that he has occasion to speak of both together.

A discrepancy has been charged between v. 5 and 19:2. It is stated, v. 5, that Jethro found Moses already encamped at the mount of God and yet it is not until 19:2 that the people leave Rephidim for Sinai. Some have thought that the mount of God here means not Sinai but that part of Horeb near Rephidim, where water had been miraculously brought from the rock, 17:6, or that Rephidim was so near to Sinai that the encampment might with propriety be said to be at either place. The true explanation doubtless is that there is a slight departure from chronological exactness for the sake of a better topical arrangement. Jethro's visit belongs in time after the arrival at Sinai, but is narrated before it, in order not to interrupt the continuity of the divine legislation, which occupied the entire term of Israel's abode at the mount, filling the rest of Exodus, the whole of Leviticus and some chapters in Numbers. The chronological order is subordinated to the topical by all historians, whenever they find it conducive to a better presentation of their subject to do so. Repeated instances occur in the Mosaic record. Thus the plagues are related in unbroken series until the day on which the smiting of the firstborn was to take place, ch. 11, cf. v. 4. Then in order to bring together all that relates to the institution of the passover by which Israel was set free from that infliction and the way was paved for the exodus, the writer reverts from the fourteenth day of the month to directions given some days before, 12:3. And the dedication offerings of the princes are not related until Numbers, ch. 7, although they were presented immediately after the setting up of the tabernacle, Ex. 40:17 sqq., and the consecration of its vessels, Lev. 8:10,11; the legislation could thus be completed first without interruption.

There is another account in Deut. ch. 1 of the appointment of judges recorded in this chapter. Moses there begins his address to the people by referring to the divine command to leave Horeb and proceed to Canaan, v. 6. He then adds, v. 9, "And I spake to you at that time" of the need of judges to assume the burden of ordinary judicial decisions. And in v. 18, "I commanded you at that time all the things which ye should do." As this alludes to the entire body of statutes given



at Sinai, "at that time" cannot be limited to the moment of their departure from the mountain, but must be used in a general sense to cover the period of their abode there. It is here spoken of among the preliminaries of their march to Canaan that the organization was effected and the legal constitution was drawn up, provided with which they were prepared to move onward to the promised land. The account in Exodus and that in Deuteronomy supplement each other in certain particulars, but there is no inconsistency between them. There is nothing in Deuteronomy to conflict with the statement in Exodus that the appointment of judges was first suggested by Jethro; and nothing in Exodus to conflict with the statement in Deuteronomy that the men appointed by Moses were first selected by the people.

The allegation that Num. 11:11 sqq. is a variant version of this same transaction from a different document is a mistake. Seventy elders were there chosen to aid Moses in the general administration of national affairs. This was at a different time and was a distinct thing from the selection of judges to settle individual strifes.

## 1) LANGUAGE OF P.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה V., p. 151 d (also JE). (3) עשה כן Ex. 7:10,11,20,22; 8:3,13,14; 14:4; 16:17; Num. 5:4; 8:3 P. Gen. 29:28; 42:20,25; 45:21; 50:12; Ex. 8:20; 17:6 E. Josh. 4:8; 5:15; 9:26; 10:23 JE. (4) ואני הנני three times in Hex., V., p. 174. (5) עדת בני' Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (6) סביב Sect. 6, Lang. of P (also J and E). (7) אכלה V., p. 151 e. (8) משמרת Sect. 14, Lang. of P. (9) דר' V., p. 174. (10) נתן (= שים) V., p. 152, 12 (also J and E). (11) חוק את לב Ex. 9:12; 14:8,17 P; 4:21; 10:20,27; 11:10 E; Josh. 11:20 D. (12) הערבים בין Sect. 14, Lang. of P.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) על הים Ex. 14:2,9,16,21,26,27 P (where JE uses על שפת הים v. 30, but with a somewhat different application); cf. a like diversity in phrases attributed to the same document, חול הים Gen. 32:13 J; 41:49 E, but חול אשר על שפת הים 22:17 J; Josh. 11:4 JE.

(2) ככר (Niph.) Ex. 14:4,17,18; Lev. 10:3 P; Gen. 34:19 J; Num. 22:15 E; not "in later prophets" only but Isa. 3:5; 23:8,9; Nah. 3:10.

(3) נכח Ex. 26:35; 40:24; Num. 19:4; Josh. 15:7; 18:17 P; Gen. 25:21; 30:38 J נכח Ex. 14:2 P.

(4) כבוד יהוה also JE Num. 14:21,22 (so Driver); J Ex. 33:18 (thy glory), 22 (my glory), both referring to Jehovah.

(5) גלגלת Ex. 16:16; 38:26; Num. 1:2,18,20,22; 3:47 P.

(6) עמר Ex. 16:16,18,22,32,33,36 P; nowhere else in O. T. in this sense.

(7) ערף Ex. 16:18,23; 26:12 *bis*, 13; Lev. 25:27; Num. 3:46,48,49 P.

(8) נשיא העדה is referred by rule to P, so that Num. 32:2 and Josh. 9:15b,17-21, though in a JE context, are assigned to P simply because of this expression; so is Num. 32:4 because of עדה. ערה occurs in Num. 16:26 J; 20:10,11 JE (so Driver; Dillmann gives 10a to P, 11 to E); and in Josh. 22:16-18 it is found in connection with various marks of JE. Dillmann assigns Josh. 22:12 to JE but tries to explain away the presence of ערה as an insertion by R. נשיא is also in Ex. 22:27 E.

(9) שבתון Ex. 16:23; Lev. 16:31 P. Ex. 31:15; 35:2 are alleged to belong to a later addition to P, and Lev. 23:3,24,32,39; 25:4,5 to the Holiness Laws.

(10) עריות also in E Ex. 32:15 and JE Josh. 4:16,

(11) מוסע also in J according to Driver, who refers Gen. 13:3 to this document.

\*The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 242sq. The references are to former articles in this series, where the proper explanations are given.

ἡ ἀπὸ λεγόμενα.

These of course afford no indication of a writer's usage.

(1) צָנַנְתָּ Ex. 16:33 P.

(2) צָפִיחִית 16:31 P.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.\*

### OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה (2) בעבור V., p. 155. (3) חוקה יד Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (4) למען also in E Gen. 37:22; 50:20; Ex. 1:11; 11:9; 20:12; and in P Ex. 16:32 and according to Driver Num. 15:40. (5) מה-זאת V., p. 155, also E Gen. 29:25; 42:28. (6) קשה (as verb) Sect. 9, Lang. of E, also P Ex. 7:3. (7) הרג Sect. 13, Lang. of J; also in E; in P Num. 31:7,17,19. (8) על-כן Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E; in P Ex. 20:11; Lev. 17:12; Num. 18:24. (9) לבב Sect. 6, Lang. of E. (10) הקריב (approach) Sect. 5, Lang. of J; intrans. only Gen. 12:11; Ex. 14:10. (11) נשא צעק Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E. (12) חרל Sect. 6, Lang. of J; also in E and P. (14) קרים Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (15) שקף Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (16) מטר V., p. 155. (17) באש Sect. 13, Lang. of E; also in P. (18) מאן Sect. 10, Lang. of E.

### NEW WORDS.

(1) בית עבדים Ex. 13:3,14 J; 20:2; Josh. 24:

17 E; six times in Deut.; all in Hex.

(2) חָמִישׁ Ex. 13:22 J (or E ?); 33:11 E; all in Hex.

(3) שְׁלִישִׁים Ex. 14:7 J; 15:4 E; all in Hex.

(4) נֹסָה Ex. 15:25; 16:4; 17:2,7 J; Gen. 22:1; Ex. 20:20 E; Num. 14:22 R or E; eight times in Deut.; all in Hex.

(5) עֶרְאֵנָה Ex. 16:28 J; Josh. 18:3 E; Num. 14:11bis R or E; all in Hex.

(6) נָחָה Gen. 24:27,48; Ex. 32:34; Deut. 32:12 J; Ex. 13:17; 15:13; Num. 23:7 E; Ex. 13:21 J or E; all in Hex.

### RARE WORDS.

(1) חֹזֶק יָד Ex. 13:3,14,16 J; all in O. T. (2)

שֹׁנֵר מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה Ex. 13:10 J; all in Hex. (3) שֹׁנֵר Ex. 13:12 J; four times in Deut.; all in Hex.

(4) עָרַף (verb) Ex. 13:13; 34:20 J; Deut. 21:4,6; all in Hex. (5) טוֹטְפוֹת Ex. 13:16 J; twice in Deut.; all in O. T. (6) תּוֹלַע Ex. 16:20 J; all in Hex.; (7) רָמָה Ex. 16:24 J; all in Hex. (8) אָרִץ

נוֹשֶׁבֶת Ex. 16:35 J; all in O. T.

## 3) LANGUAGE OF E.†

### OLD WORDS.

(1) אֱלֹהִים (2) פָּן V., p. 155, also in J. (3) נָחַם (repent) Ex. 13:17 E; Gen. 6:6,7; Ex. 32:12, 14 J; all in Hex. (4) מִטָּה (staff or rod) Ex. 4:17,20; 7:15,17,20; 9:23; 10:13; 14:16; 17:5,9; Num. 20:9,11 E; Gen. 38:18,25; Ex. 4:2,4 J; Ex. 7:9,10, 12bis,19; 8:1,12,13; Num. 17:17sq.; 20:8 P; all in Hex. (5) נָחַל Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (6) רָגַז Sect. 11, Lang. of E; twice in Hex. besides once in Deut. (7) נָחַל Sect. 11, Lang. of E; twice in Hex. (8) עַל-כֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (9) צָעַק Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (10) שִׁים V., p. 154; also in J and P. (11) שָׁמַע לְקוֹל V., p. 154; also in J. (12) אָוֵן (Hiph.) Gen. 4:23 J; Ex. 15:26; Num. 23:18 E; twice in Deut.; all in Hex. (13) לָמָּה זֶה Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (14) חָרַב Sect. 13, Lang. of E; apart from Deut. three times in Hex. (15) נָצַב עַל Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (16) מִזְבֵּחַ V., p. 175; also in J. (17) דָּר דָּר Ex. 3:15; 17:16 E; all in O. T. (18) אָהָל Sect. 2, Lang. of J; also in P Ex. 16:16; Lev. 14:8; Num. 19:14,18, besides its frequent use to denote the sacred Tabernacle. (19) לִקְרָאתָּ Sect. 5, Lang. of J.

(20) הִצִּיל אִישׁ לָרַעְהוּ Sect. 4, Lang. of J. (21) הִצִּיל Sect. 10, Lang. of E; also in J and P. (22) עַל אִוֹרוֹת Sect. 6, Lang. of E; also in J. (23) גָּם-גָּם Sect. 12, Lang. of J; also in P.

### NEW WORDS.

(1) חֲמָשִׁים Ex. 13:18 E; Josh. 1:14; 4:12 R; all in Hex.

(2) צָמָא (verb) Ex. 17:3; (noun) Ex. 17:3 E; Deut. 28:48; (adj.) Deut. 29:18; צָמָאִין Deut. 8:15; the root and its derivatives, all in Hex.

(3) צִוֶּר Ex. 17:6bis; Num. 23:9; Josh. 5:2,3 E; Ex. 33:21,22; Deut. 32:4 sq. J; Deut. 8:15; all in Hex.

(4) חוּהָה Ex. 18:21; 24:11 E; Num. 24:4,16 J; all in Hex.

(5) מְחֹלָתָהּ Ex. 15:20 E; 32:19 J; all in Hex.

(6) נוֹל Ex. 15:8 E; Num. 24:7; Deut. 32:2 J; all in Hex.

### RARE WORDS.

(1) בִּכְבֵּרְתָּהּ Ex. 14:25 E; all in O. T. (2) אֹפֶן Ex. 14:25 E; all in Hex. (3) מִתֵּק Ex. 15:25 E; all in Hex.

\* The numbers are those of HEB., VI., p. 246sq.

† The numbers are those of HEB., VI., p. 249sq.

## SECTION 16. EXODUS 19:1-34:35.

## 1. Chapter 19.

The critics are seriously puzzled in their attempt to effect a satisfactory partition of this chapter. They are generally agreed that P must be limited to the first two verses; but there their agreement ends. Most of them refer vs. 1,2a to P, inasmuch as dates and stations are commonly assigned to him. Jülicher inverts the order, vs. 2a,1, for the sake of a closer correspondence with 16:1. According to Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 72) these verses are in P's style, though whether they come from him must remain uncertain since they are now worked into a narrative taken from elsewhere. The fact is that these verses are a necessary introduction to the chapter, and if they be sundered from the narrative that follows, it will contain no statement of the people's arrival at Sinai, the scene of the occurrences described is left in doubt until v. 11, and "the mount," v. 2b, presupposes some antecedent explanation which is missing. To relieve this difficulty some would share the opening verses between P and the body of the chapter. Knobel followed by Nöldeke and Kittell give 2a to P and attach v. 1 to what follows. Kayser attains the same end by reversing the process, giving v. 1 to P and attaching 2a to what follows.

It is in the rest of the chapter, however, that the critical confusion chiefly reigns. Kuenen after referring to the want of agreement among critics (*Hex.*, p. 157) passes this judgment upon the case: "Clearly all is uncertainty. The cause is not far to seek: the Sinai stories have passed through many phases before reaching their present form, and no small part of the original contents of the documents has been lost in the process." Of the reason here given there is not the slightest evidence; but the fact that the critics are widely divergent in their conclusions is obvious enough.

Commonly the bulk of the chapter is parcelled in one way or another between J and E; but Kuenen takes ground against this, and says, *Hex.*, p. 142: "It is doubtful whether J has contributed anything to the account of the Sinaitic legislation." He exposes the motive of the partition, *Hex.*, p. 157: "Wellhausen and Dillmann evidently start from the assumption that J described the events at Sinai, and that we must possess at any rate some remains of his account." This is the whole matter in a nutshell. The composite character, which they affirm, is not a conclusion reached after an impartial investigation. They have simply found what they were predetermined to find.

The greater part of the chapter is usually given to E, and reference made to the occurrence of Elohim,\* vs. 3,17,19, but Jehovah occurs much more frequently

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\* Elohim points to the divine in these manifestations in contrast with mere natural phenomena. It was no ordinary cloud charged with thunder and lightning that descended upon the summit, but Moses went up unto God, v. 3, the people were brought out to meet with God, v. 17, Moses spake and God answered him in loud tones, v. 19. Jehovah is the personal name of the Being who thus manifested his presence.



(eighteen times), which can only be explained by attributing it to R. Sinai, vs. 11, 18, and other J words are also laid to his account. It is easy to see that any hypothesis whatever can be carried through by a free use of R. However the facts may conflict with critical assumptions, the infallibility of the assumptions is never suspected. R is to blame. Certain words are assigned to J as his peculiarity; certain others to E. When these are found inextricably mingled, the unsophisticated might imagine that the same writer was freely using both. But no; R has been mixing J and E. That the critics are unable to effect the partition of the chapter and their criteria cannot be made to tally with its contents is surely no very convincing proof that there must have been a parallel narrative to account for the divergence. The argument reduced to plain English amounts to this: Inasmuch as the facts are at variance with the hypothesis, therefore the hypothesis is true and the facts must be corrected accordingly.

Jülicher claims that 3b is by a different hand from 3a, because Jehovah's calling to him out of the mount implies that Moses had not ascended it but was below. It may be presumed that he had never read 24:15, 16. He further urges, and in this Dr. Driver follows him, that the natural sequel of, v. 3, *went up* would be not be, v. 7, *came*, but, v. 14, *went down*. This triviality Dr. Dillmann very properly disregards. In 24:3 according to the common analysis of critics (Jülicher (20:21) and Driver (19:24) included) *came* is the antithesis of a preceding *went up*. In numberless instances **בָּיָא** *came* alternates with **יָרַד** *went down*, Gen. 42:2, 3, 5; 46:3, 6; 1 Sam. 10:8; 26:6, 7; and in the chapter before us cf. v. 9, *come*, v. 18, *descended*; v. 10, *go*; v. 14, *went down*. Dillmann affirms that vs. 3-8 belongs to the oldest of the documents; Kuenen, Hex., p. 246, that its strong assertion of Jehovah's unity and supremacy and its highly idealistic conception of Israel's relation to other peoples stamp it as a late insertion.

In proof of the composite character of this chapter, it is further urged:

"Verse 9a is incongruous after v. 8." It is hard to see why. The people's pledge of obedience is followed by the promise on the Lord's part that he will come in the thick cloud and speak in their hearing, thus affording them convincing evidence that the words are really his.

"Verse 9b is superfluous after 8b." But 8b is the general preliminary statement of what was actually done in 9b. Such prefatory statements are of constant occurrence in Hebrew narratives, e. g., Gen. 24:29b, cf. 30b; 28:5b summing up what follows to 29:13; 31:18b; 31:23b, cf. 25; 31:46b, cf. 54; Ex. 2:15b, cf. 21; 4:20a. These are eagerly seized upon by critics and converted into indications of a double narrative, when on the contrary these summary anticipations of particulars to be subsequently given are suggestive only of unity and a consistent plan. Dr. Driver seems inclined to suspect that 9b is only an accidental repetition of 8b. If so, it only raises a question of textual criticism and has no bearing on that of critical partition.

"Verse 20, Jehovah is said to have come down on Mount Sinai, though he had already descended upon it, v. 18." But, as Jülicher remarks, v. 20 may be regarded as a comprehensive summing up of what precedes. Or it may be said with Ranke, *Untersuchungen über d. Pentateuch*, II., p. 41. The actual descent takes place in v. 16, and v. 17 the people are brought out to meet with God; v. 18 paints the majestic scene for the eye, v. 19 for the ear. And after these grand features have been set forth, the detailed description of what took place begins, v. 20.

"Verse 21 repeats the command, v. 12." And it is very natural that such a charge should be repeated as the supreme moment was approaching. That it had been given before is expressly stated, v. 23, which the critics throw out of the text simply because it nullifies their objection.

"רַמֶּסֶס *ram's horn*, v. 13, is quite distinct from שַׁפָּר *trumpet*, vs. 16, 19." How this can be said in the face of their explicit identification, Josh. 6:4-9, 13, it is difficult to see.

"Verse 19 is continued 20:1 sqq., and vs. 20-25 interrupt the connection." But what the Lord said to Moses, cf. v. 20, must be distinguished from the words addressed to all the people, 20:1 sqq., 22. There is consequently no interruption; vs. 20-25 record the last preliminary to the proclamation of the decalogue.

"Vs. 22, 24, the priests and Aaron are introduced without preparation." But Aaron had been repeatedly associated with Moses before, and there is no reason why he should not be now. The mention of priests in this single passage acquaints us with a fact known from no other source, that such an order existed in Israel at this time. We know nothing further about them, and conjectures are of no avail. It is sufficient for our present purpose that this conflicts with no explicit statement made elsewhere. It can therefore supply no argument for a diversity of documents. The critics affirm what they have no means of knowing, when they allege that these verses belong to a document representing a different view of the origin of the priesthood from that embodied in other portions of the Pentateuch.

"Verse 25 וַיֹּאמֶר *and said unto them* (not *and told them*) should be followed by a statement of the words reported." Such an abrupt termination of the sentence as is here supposed, rendering it absolutely senseless, cannot be attributed to any intelligent redactor. He has not stupidly broken off this extract without completing the sense and begun to draw from another document, but the sentence is complete as it stands. וַיֹּאמֶר here can only mean "and he said so unto them," i. e., he repeated what the Lord had just charged him to say. Another example of the same description occurs Gen. 4:8, where it cannot possibly be twisted to favor a diversity of documents.

"Verses 21, 24 אֶל הָרִים *break through unto*, and vs. 22, 24, בִּפְרִיזָה *break forth upon*, are new expressions not used before." These words occur here in a sense peculiar to this passage, and which is foreign to both J and E. And in the very same paragraph, in which he uses this argument, Dr. Dillmann insists that a few rare expressions like סִגְלָה v. 5, הַגְּבִיל v. 12, יִרְה and יִבֵּל v. 13, do not prove E's dependence on some other document.

"According to 19:13b [= E/] the horn-blast is the signal of God's departure, when the people may ascend to the mountain; but in v. 16 [= J] it announces Yahweh's arrival." HEBRAICA, VI., p. 261. In a foot-note reference is made to Dillmann "for a full discussion on this point." But Dillmann makes no such distinction between the documents as is here proposed by Dr. Harper. And it is impracticable whether upon the analysis in his comment on the passage, which gives vs. 13 and 17 to E, or that in his final dissertation, which gives 13b and 16 to J. The only question which can be raised is one not of criticism but of interpretation, viz., whether the protracted notes and coming up to the mount בָּהָר 13b are to be understood differently from the sound of the trumpet, v. 16, and coming to the nether part of the mount בְּתַחְתִּית הָהָר v. 17. A distinction is made by the LXX. and some modern interpreters, but has little probability in its favor.

Jülicher has the fantastic notion that in J Jehovah comes down from heaven upon the mountain, but in E he had his dwelling upon the mountain itself and no descent was necessary: and his partition is made upon this basis. Others divide it so that some of the particulars recorded in the chapter are assigned to one document and the rest to another, but with no guiding principle and in a purely arbitrary way. It is generally confessed that no clearly defined analysis

can be carried through. Dillmann gives it up so far vs. 3-6, 11, 16, 18 are concerned, which he refers to both J and E. Jülicher acknowledges that the two accounts are woven so intimately together that the attempt of criticism to find out the source of every clause and word deserves censure rather than approval.

## 2. Chapter 20.

The text of the decalogue in Deut. 5:6-18 differs in some particulars from that in Exodus. Wellhausen maintains that the Exodus text has been modified into conformity with that of Deuteronomy and that it is irrational to give preference to the former throughout, yet a careful comparison of the two texts demonstrates beyond intelligent contradiction the priority of that in Exodus. The difference is precisely what might be expected in a free reproduction in a popular address such as Deuteronomy professes to contain.

The classification of Dr. Dillmann exhibits this in the most satisfactory manner. The deviations of Deuteronomy consisting of back references, vs. 12, 15, 16 as Jehovah thy God hath commanded thee; insertions for rhetorical amplification, v. 14, thine ox nor thine ass nor any of, v. 18 his field, vs. 9, 17, 18 } inserted, v. 18, *רְתֹאמֶה* *desire* alternating with *חֶמֶד* *covet*, v. 16 and that it may go well with thee; v. 14, regard for the oppressed which is characteristic of Deuteronomy, that thy manservant and thy maidservant may rest as well as thou; v. 15, motive drawn from the deliverance from Egypt, as often in Deuteronomy; v. 12 "keep" substituted for "remember" and the latter reserved for v. 15; v. 18 by an inversion of clauses "wife" is put before "house," whereas if this be taken in the sense of household the wife is included and the proper order is for the particular to follow the general term. His conclusion is that at the utmost there are only two instances in which preference might be accorded to the text of Deuteronomy, and even in these this is not necessary, viz., v. 17 *שׁוֹא* (for *שָׁקֵר*) and v. 8 } omitted before *כָּל תְּמוּנָה*.

Dillmann's conclusion is irrefragable that the Exodus text is demonstrated by unmistakable internal evidence to be nearer the original form of the decalogue than that in Deuteronomy. The former, consequently, cannot have been derived from the latter: the derivation is the other way. What Wellhausen calls "the Deuteronomic tinge" of the decalogue in Exodus, the correspondence of its language with favorite expressions in Deuteronomy is not and cannot be due to its having been conformed to the text of Deuteronomy. And this manifest instance disposes of the like assumption in other cases, where expressions and ideas more or less resembling those of Deuteronomy, found in other books are confidently affirmed to be interpolated by a Deuteronomic reviser.

Jülicher points out in minute detail the coincidences between the decalogue in Exodus and the general style of Deuteronomy, *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ*, vs. 2, 5 (with *אֲנֹכִי* prefixed), 7, 10, 12; 2b is genuinely deuteronomic, so is *בֵּית עֲבָדֶיךָ*; v. 3 is not only in form deuteronomic but the fundamental dogma of the book; v. 4, cf. Deut. 4:16-18, 23-25, 30; v. 5sq., *עֲשֵׂה אֹהֶב* and *שְׂנֵא* of men to Yahweh; Deut. 7:9sq.; Josh. 2:12-14 (Ex. 16:28); 7b, *נָקָה*, reference to punishment and reward as v. 12 is specifically deuteronomic. For *זָכָר* v. 8, Deuteronomy has *שָׁמֹר* but *זָכָר* also frequently occurs Deut. 25:17 and stress is constantly laid on keeping God's commands in remembrance; v. 9, *עֲבָד* and *מִלְאָכָה* *עֲשֵׂה* are frequent in Deuteronomy; v. 10, the enumeration



of those affected by the observance of the Sabbath, especially *אשר בשעריו* point to Deuteronomy; v. 12b *למען ימיו, הארץ, הארץ, על הארץ, על הארץ* or *על הארץ, על הארץ* have numerous parallels in Deuteronomy.

The Exodus text can claim precedence over that of Deuteronomy. But is it after all the true original text of the decalogue? Dillmann says, no; and adduces three proofs, "out of the house of bondage," v. 2, "within thy gates," v. 10, and the whole of v. 11.

The first of these is a phrase which occurs frequently in Deuteronomy, but is also found, Ex. 13:3,4, which according to Dillmann's analysis belongs to J and so is predeuteronomic. He argues that these words are not necessary to the sentence in 20:2, and are therefore a later addition and borrowed from J. But in fact they are not a superfluous appendage. They are quite important where they stand, as suggesting why deliverance from Egypt was so great a benefit and laid the people under such obligation. There is no reason for suspecting their genuineness and originality: on the contrary there is every reason why they should be where they are.

He further questions the accuracy of the text in v. 10 "within thy gates." This expression, however, does not imply, as he seems to imagine, that the people were already occupying cities in Canaan, but only that they were looking forward to the speedy possession of them: which is plainly regarded as future, v. 12, "the land, which Jehovah thy God is giving thee."

But chief stress is laid upon v. 11, the reason annexed to the fourth commandment, which is replaced by a different reason, Deut. 5:15. Now, it is argued, while Deuteronomy makes additions, it nowhere omits anything from the text of the decalogue. The reason in Deuteronomy is drawn from the bondage of Egypt, which is similarly urged in this book in other connections, Deut. 15:15; 16:12; 24:8,22. Moreover it has not the form of the reasons to the preceding commandments as that in Exodus has. And while it gives a reason for observing a rest sacred to Jehovah, it does not account for its recurring on the seventh day, as is done in Exodus. If now the reason in Exodus had been based upon statements in J or E, it would have given the critics no special trouble. But instead of this it rests on the six days of creation and God's resting on the seventh, recorded by P, Gen. 1:1-2:3. The decalogue is then according to the critics a most extraordinary conglomerate, in which each of the documents has its share. It is found in E but has words and phrases of J, P, and D. The original material must have been successively worked over by Rj, Rd and Rp to bring it to its present shape. It has, however, already been shown that the D phrases, which are in much the largest number, could not have been borrowed from Deuteronomy. And there is not a particle more reason for deriving the P and J phrases from those documents. This ancient law of the ten commandments according to the combined testimony of all four of the documents, as the critics divide them,

were given to Moses on Mt. Sinai, graven on stone, and ever after kept in the sanctuary. This, then, is Mosaic, if anything was. And yet it combines in itself the characteristics of all the documents as the critics conceive them. The unity of the decalogue thus proclaims the unity and common authorship of all that the critics partition into so-called documents.

It is alleged, however, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 259, note 3, that in their primitive form the ten commandments were "ten brief phrases" like the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th, and that they have been amplified to their present dimensions by specifications and reasons subsequently added. Such brevity, it is said, was demanded by their being engraved on stone; and also by their symmetrical division into two tables, if as is commonly assumed one table contained duties to God and the other duties to man. But this reduction of the commandments to brief phrases is purely conjectural and is at variance with the explicit statement, 20:1, God spake all these words; and with the terms of the second commandment in which Jehovah speaks in the first person throughout, though this style of address is not continued in those that follow; 32:15 the tables "were written on both their sides, on the one side and on the other were they written," which implies commandments of considerable length. The correspondence between the two texts shows that there was a fixed and authorized form throughout, the deviations from which in Deuteronomy have been already accounted for. Had there been brief divine commands with explications from different sources, as the critics assume, there would have been a wide diversity in form and language in these additions instead of the existing agreement. But even if their assumption were well founded, the critical results would not follow which have been built upon it. The natural inference would be that the explications were added by Moses, and neither the reference to the six days of creation nor the phrases of Deuteronomy, which so embarrass the critics, would occasion surprise.

Accept the clear statement of Scripture that these commandments were given to Moses and recorded by him, and all is plain and just as it should be. Admit the partition of the critics and all is inharmonious and an immense amount of tinkering is necessary to adjust the decalogue to its present place. It is found by almost unanimous critical consent in the document E,\* but in a form which has none of the alleged characteristics of E, while it has instead the characteristics of documents of much later date. It borrows from P and is throughout in the style of D, though D's own decalogue is not the copy from which it was taken but is itself a modified form of that which is contained in E. This complication created by the critics themselves requires a complicated hypothesis to account for it, a whole series of writers and redactors with their respective additions and alterations. And all because the decalogue, while entirely consistent with itself and its surroundings, runs athwart the speculations and preconceptions of the critics.

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\* Only Schrader gives the decalogue to J.

The objections which have been brought against the Mosaic origin of the second commandment are fully refuted by Dillmann, *Exodus and Leviticus*, p. 209.

The critics are as much at a loss what to do with vs. 18-23 as with ch. 19. Kuenen transposes vs. 18-21 before vs. 1-17, linking the former to 19:17 and the latter to 24:12 and obtains this account of the transaction. Terrified by the manifestations of Jehovah's presence on the summit of Sinai, the people beg that Moses would speak to them and not God [though why they should have imagined that God meant to speak to them does not appear]. Accordingly Moses drew near to the thick darkness and God spake the decalogue to him. This primitive account contained no reference to any book of the covenant [ch. 21-23], or formal ratification of it, 24:3-8, but proceeds at once to 24:12, where Moses is bidden to ascend the mountain [though he was on the summit already], and there receive both the tables of stone and additional laws and commandments which have not yet been but are to be communicated to him.

Jülicher makes a like transposition and infers that the decalogue was originally spoken to Moses and so was the book of the covenant. But Rj thought that the decalogue ought to have been delivered in a different manner from the laws that followed. Accordingly he placed vs. 18-21 after vs. 1-17 and inserted vs. 22, 23 as introductory to the following code. He thus divided the Sinai legislation into two parts, viz., the ten commandments proclaimed of God to the whole people and 20:24-23:33, the statutes given through Moses.

According to Wellhausen the book of the covenant belongs to J's version of the legislation on Sinai not to E's. In E (20:1-19; 24:12) God utters the decalogue in the audience of the people and this completes the Sinai legislation proper. The people ask that all further communications should be made to them through Moses. He is accordingly bidden to ascend the mountain and receive the two tables as well as further instructions which are not published but which qualify him on all future occasions to speak in God's stead to the people; the law is simply put within him as a living power.

J's account (19:20-25...20:23-23:33; 24:3-8) is altogether different. He knows of no decalogue spoken by God himself, but only of a book of the covenant given to Moses (who is supposed to have ascended the mountain agreeably to the direction given to him, 19:24) and by him imparted to the people, who solemnly promise obedience.

Wellhausen infers that the decalogue and the book of the covenant belong to two distinct versions of the transactions at Sinai from the language of the people to Moses, v. 19. They do not say to him "Let God speak with thee and not with us," as though they expected further divine communications to be made. Their words are "speak thou with us, but let not God speak with us;" which he understands to place in contrast not Ex. 20 and Ex. 21-23, but immediate legislation



by God himself at one time and the whole subsequent government of the people by Moses and his successors. R framed these two mutually inconsistent stories into one narrative by inserting vs. 21,22 as a transition from one to the other.

Dr. Driver's analysis is here identical with that of Wellhausen except that he does not avail himself of the services of R. The consequence is that he gives 20:22 to J, who thus refers to the Lord's having talked with the people from heaven, although there is no previous mention of his having done so. This is a confession that J did record the very thing which has been sundered from him and given to E.

Dillmann attributes both the decalogue and the book of the covenant to E;\* vs. 18 sqq. which are introductory to the latter are mainly attributed to E, though R has blended with them some clauses from J, who also had recorded the decalogue and its promulgation from the mouth of God. His account of the book of the covenant is given 34:10 sqq.

This comparison of the views of different critics shows how easy it is by transpositions and rejections from the text to alter the course and contents of a narrative *ad libitum*, and to create any number of incongruities and inconsistencies. These are, however, purely products of the critics' own brain and are entitled to no further consideration than other arbitrary fancies, which are destitute of any rational or historical basis. There is no valid reason to dispute the fidelity and correctness of the record of these transactions at Sinai. In as far as it is departed from by critical conclusions resting on mere conjecture, they have no solid foundation and no historical value.

As in the description of the awful scene at Sinai v. 18 combines the קול שפר and קלת of 19:16,19a J and קשׁוֹר הָרַר of 19:18 E, and differs from both in substituting לַפְּיֹם for בְּרָקִים of the one and שֶׁן of the other Dillmann is compelled to refer it to R, whereas the slight variations of expression merely show that the like variation in the verses above mentioned is traceable not to diversity of documents but to the freedom of a writer who is not rigorously bound to the use of the same identical terms.

Verse 21, "the people stood afar off" is not superfluous beside v. 18, and suggestive of an interpolation from another document. It is repeated in order to put in contrast with it the fact that "Moses drew near."

The two reasons in v. 20 for God's visible coming are, as Dillmann acknowledges, "not mutually exclusive but supplementary." There is consequently no reason for parcelling them between different writers, especially as in that case R must be called in to account for the verbal correspondence between the clauses.

That v. 23 belongs where it stands is plain from the reference in v. 22 to what had just taken place and its correspondence in form with 19:3,4.

The appropriateness of vs. 24-26 is also plain as preliminary to 24:4. There is no reason for the opinion that it ever formed a part of the code, chs. 21-23, which has its own separate title, 21:1, and from which there was no occasion to sunder it if it properly belonged there.

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\* Schrader gives both to J.

## 3. Chapters 21-23.

Dillmann insists that משפטים *judgments*, 21:1, is to be interpreted strictly of enactments regulating civil relations, such as the ordinances relating to freedom, life and property, 21:2-23:16, but that it does not embrace the regulations, 22:17-23:33, which belong to the moral and spiritual sphere. The absence of a distinct title for the latter, however, shows that in the intention of the author  *mishpatim*  is here to be taken in a wider sense as including the entire body of regulations here given. It is charged that while the form of address is almost uniformly the 2d pers. sing. throughout the entire code, the spuriousness of 22:20b, 21, 23, 24b is betrayed by the use of the 2d plur.; nevertheless Dillmann himself nullifies this argument by defending the genuineness of 22:30 in spite of the plural verb. Alternations of sing. and plur. occur repeatedly elsewhere without any critical conclusions being drawn, e. g., Ex. 13:4, 5, 15, 16; Deut. 4:1, 8, 9, 16, 19; Isa. 30:20-22. If absolute uniformity is to be made the test of genuineness, why not reject 21:15-17 on account of the participial construction; and 21:29 because of יָמֹות יָמֹות instead of יָמֹות יָמֹות as 21:12, 15-17; 22:18; and 22:4 because of בְּעִירָהּ (the suf. הָ nowhere else in the code); and 23:1, 7 because of אֶל (instead of לָא as always elsewhere); and 23:14 because of רָגְלִים instead of the more usual פַּעֲמִים as v. 17? 23:9 is suspected because it is a repetition of 22:20, but the connection shows that the former relates particularly to judicial proceedings. There is at first sight a show of plausibility in the suggestion that 23:4, 5 is a later insertion, interjected as it is between vs. 3 and 6, which enjoin strict impartiality in the administration of justice to the poor; and its clauses differing in length and construction from those that precede and follow. Nevertheless there is a propriety in introducing just here an illustration of the manner in which one should act even towards an adversary in distress, and this is in accord with the spirit of these laws elsewhere.

Other passages are alleged to have been worked over by R simply because in their present form they conflict with the presuppositions of the critical hypothesis. Thus 23:13, it is said, can not have been in this ancient law book because it alludes to the recent promulgation of the decalogue; whereas this very allusion proves that this code of laws was drawn up at the very time when and place where the ten commandments were given. It is proposed to expunge from 23:15 the words "Thou shalt eat unleavened bread seven days, as I commanded thee," because the prior document E could not thus refer to the contents of J, 13:6 (or rather P, 12:15, 17), which was written later; whereas this reference simply proves that the critics are astray in their conclusions. It is affirmed that 23:23-25, 31b-33 must have been altered by R into conformity with J's warnings against Canaanite idolatry, 34:11 sqq.; but this is with the view of creating a seeming diversity between the passages by erasing from one of them what they have in common. The charge that the command to expel the Canaanites, vs. 31-33, is inconsistent with the preceding declaration, vs. 29, 30, that this should only be effected gradually, requires no refutation.

Other verses, in which Wellhausen fancies that he has detected interpolations, are defended by Dillmann. Only the objections professedly based on literary grounds have been considered. Those based on alleged disagreement with other laws must be postponed until the legislation in general shall be taken up.

## 4. Chapter 24.

The one thing, about which all the critics here agree, is the perplexity which they find in effecting a satisfactory division of this simple straightforward chapter. Jülicher pronounces it the most enigmatical in all Exodus. Nöldeke says that it is plainly composed of heterogeneous parts, but it is very difficult to determine the origin and composition of its several portions.

What to do with v. 1 is a puzzle. "The elders," are claimed as a mark of E; "Nadab and Abihu" are elsewhere found only in P. Jülicher gives this verse to

P; Schrader to E; Wellhausen followed by Driver makes it a later addition to E; Kuenen (*Hex.*, p. 333) gives it to JE; Vatke to E, but strikes out "Nadab and Abihu" as a gloss from P; Knobel to the *Kriegsbuch*, an invention of his own; Kayser thinks that R has mixed two separate narratives, but despairs of disentangling them; Nöldeke deems it probable that R has drawn from sources elsewhere unused, and Dillmann assigns the refractory verse to J, who had spoken of priests, 19:22,24.

An *ado* is made over the opening words "And to Moses he said," as though Moses were contrasted with others previously addressed, whence it is inferred that v. 1 cannot connect with chs. 21-23, which had been spoken to Moses, cf. 20:22. And he is directed to come up with Aaron and others, whence the conclusion is drawn that he must be at the foot of the mountain, not on its summit, where he received the commands of the preceding chapters, and therefore that it must connect with 20:19,20 just after the proclamation of the ten commandments to the people. But the readiness with which the critics create difficulties for themselves out of the simplest matters is surprising. The laws in chs. 21-23 were given to Moses to lay before the people, cf. 20:22; 21:1; in 24:1 the Lord directs him what to do himself. And when he is told to come up and bring others with him, it is of course implied that he is to go down and fetch them up, which he does, v. 9. This does not conflict with his being himself on the top of the mountain when the order was given him.

Again, it is queried whether vs. 1,2 stand in any relation to vs. 9-11. The persons are the same, they do precisely what they are bidden to do, but then they are not said to have worshiped afar off, v. 1b, and why should vs. 3-8 be interposed between the order and its execution? But to ratify the covenant with Jehovah by partaking of the sacrificial feast in his visible presence, v. 11, was surely an act of worship. And the order of the narrative is the correct order. Moses was charged first to lay God's statutes before the people, 21:1, and then to reascend the mountain with their representatives, 24:1. He does precisely as he is told, first making known the laws entrusted to him and engaging the people to obedience, vs. 3-8, then ratifying the covenant on their behalf with the elders and others acting in their name, vs. 9-11.

There is no need of displacing vs. 1,2, therefore, in order to connect v. 3 directly with ch. 23. Moses comes to the people from the top of the mountain and delivers his message from the Lord. The critics, who objected to "come" in the sense of "descended," 19:7, having no object to serve by repeating that objection here, quietly ignore it. Moses told the people "all the words of Jehovah and all the judgments." Here the critics interpose to say that "the words of Jehovah" cannot mean the ten commandments, cf. 20:1, as there was no occasion for Moses to inform the people of what they had themselves heard from the voice of God. We now see why Dillmann found it to his purpose to interpret "judg-



ments," 21:1, in the strict sense and limit it to 21:2-22:16; and to maintain that 22:17-23:33 are not additional judgments but the words of Jehovah. Thus he finds both words and judgments in the compass of chs. 21-23 together with the prefatory words, 20:22-26. Wellhausen thence concludes that the author of 24:3-8 knew of no decalogue but only of the book of the covenant as given at Sinai. But in spite of the limitation which he puts upon the phrase here used, Dillmann insists that in the people's promise of obedience to all that the Lord had said they necessarily engage to obey what they had heard from his own voice as well as what they had heard through Moses.

The critics commonly trace vs. 3-8 to a single source distinct from vs. 9-11, the former being given to J\* and the latter to E, or *vice versa*, or vs. 9-11 attributed to Rj (Kuenen) or supposed to be a later interpolation in E (Wellhausen, Driver) or in P (Jülicher). Vatke† stands alone in acknowledging that these paragraphs belong together, as they manifestly do. It is the solemn ratification of the covenant between Jehovah and his people Israel that is here described. They formally pledge obedience to its conditions, burnt offerings and peace offerings are sacrificed, the blood is divided between the two contracting parties, one half sprinkled upon God's altar, and the other half upon the people, and the august ceremony was concluded by a covenant meal partaken of in the presence of a visible manifestation of Jehovah by Moses, Aaron and his two eldest sons and seventy elders as the official representatives of the people. The entire transaction is a unit. All has one meaning and tends to one result. And the whole is necessary to its completeness. To rend it asunder is to mutilate it and mar its significance. If it is possible for a passage to be so bound together as to defy critical severance, that is the case in the present instance.

Dillmann pushes the division to the utmost extreme, parcelling each of the paragraphs before us clause by clause between E and J. "Moses wrote all the words of Jehovah," 4a J, is set in contrast with the "words" and "judgments" of v. 3 E (but see v. 3b "all the words which Jehovah hath said"), and J is supposed to refer to 34:10-27 his version of the book of the covenant, which R has transposed from this its true position. Then all besides that relates to these "words" (vs. 7,8b) is given to J, while the sacrificial ceremony (vs. 4 from *builded*, 5,6,8a) is assigned to E; further the vision of God, vs. 9,10,11a is J's, the eating and drinking, v. 11b, is E's. What is to be thought of a criticism, which is so out of sympathy with the subject with which it deals, that it can thus deliberately mangle this majestic scene, which lies at the basis of the entire future of Israel, and tear it into shreds, separating what is vitally connected, and destroying a large part of its meaning and value?

\* Wellhausen says that in E (19:8) the people promise obedience before, in J after the law was given. Dillmann sees no difficulty in attributing both to the same writer.

† Vatke assigns vs. 1-15 to E, always excepting those unwelcome intruders Nadab and Abihu in vs. 1,9.

The critical schemes, which have been reviewed, so cross each other as to form a network around the entire passage, which we have been considering. Dr. Dillmann tells us that vs. 3-8 and 9-11 are not mutually independent, but are linked together; others assure us that each of those paragraphs is a unit incapable of division. These concessions yield all for which we contend.

Wellhausen is concerned to know what became of the seventy elders, since no mention is made of their waiting halfway up the mountain, when Moses and Joshua came down in ch. 32. We hasten to relieve his anxiety by suggesting that in all probability they came down the mountain with Moses and Aaron, as soon as they had accomplished the purpose for which they went up, v. 11. This was so obviously the thing to do that no mention is made of it, just as no mention is made of Moses, Aaron and Hur descending the hill after the battle with Amalek, 17:10-12, or of the children of Israel returning to their tents after gathering the manna, 16:17,21. The command to Moses, v. 12, to come up into the mount, the presence of Joshua with him, v. 13, who was not named in the previous ascent, and Moses' injunction to the elders, v. 14, "Tarry ye here," does not imply that they were "half-way up the mountain" but in the camp at its foot.

There is no need, therefore, of linking 24:12 back to 20:19,20 in order to find Moses in the plain, and consequently no need of regarding vs. 1,2,9-11 with Wellhausen and Driver as later interpolations in the text of E, which bar this desired connection. No objection can arise from v. 2, which is no part of the command, v. 1, designed to govern action at that particular time, but, as the change from 2d pers. to 3d pers. shows, a general statement of the respective proximity allowed to the several parties named.

This also relieves the difficulty suggested, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 253, "Moses ascends four times in succession without descending once." Moses went up, v. 9, to the covenant feast and returned again to the camp. The Lord bade him come up again, v. 12, and agreeably to Hebrew usage the general statement is at once made, v. 13, that he did so. Then follows the more detailed account including his charge to the elders, v. 14, his actual ascent, v. 15, and what occurred in the next seven days, v. 16. Finally at the Lord's bidding he advanced still nearer the summit, penetrating even into the cloud which enveloped the radiant glory, v. 18. There is not a superfluous statement in the entire series. And Kittell's remark, *Geschichte d. Hebräer*, p. 180, note 1, is uncalled for: "In the thrice recurring sentence, vs. 13-18, 'Moses went up into the mount,' each of the principal documents must have its share."

Jehovah directed Moses, v. 12, "Come up to me into the mount and I will give thee tables of stone and a law and commandments which I have written." This, Dillmann insists, must be a law and commandments additional to the tables of stone, additional consequently to the decalogue written upon them by the finger of God. But as according to his hypothesis E, to whom this verse is assigned

knew of no Sinai laws except the decalogue and the book of the covenant, and the latter had been given to Moses already, he infers that this expression must have been interpolated from J or from P, each of whom records additional laws given at Sinai. The interpretation put upon the phrase does not seem natural,\* as there is no mention of laws written by God himself except the decalogue; and Dillmann's reference to 25:9; 32:32 sq., does not help the matter. But accepting his explanation Dillmann's hypothesis must be corrected by the statement in the text, not the text by his hypothesis.†

It is worth noting that while Moses and his minister Joshua rose up to ascend the mountain, v. 13a, and both were together in their descent, 32:17, Moses alone is spoken of, v. 13b, 15, 16, 18, since he was the principal party in the case. And yet a like reticence regarding Lot accompanying with Abraham, Gen. 12:10 sq., cf. 13:1, or of Aaron with Moses in the narrative of the plagues of Egypt has given rise to the most extraordinary critical conclusions.

Nöldeke's proposal, endorsed by Wellhausen and others, to substitute "people" for "elders," v. 14, is quite unnecessary. The reason assigned that the present text implies a danger of strifes among the elders, is simply ridiculous. They had the oversight of the people and Moses properly addresses his direction to them.

Since Nöldeke it has been usual to assign vs. 15-18a to P, though Knobel and Schrader find no place for him in the chapter. The result of severing these verses from the preceding, however, is that while we are told, *HEBRAICA*, V., p. 50, that "P's heroes never move without directions from God," Moses goes, v. 15, unbidden up the mount, through the cloud, the symbol of the divine majesty was resting upon it. The command in v. 12 has to do treble duty, for E v. 13, P v. 15 and J v. 18b. This is supposed in P to connect directly with 19:2, so that P knows nothing of a promulgation of the ten commandments by the voice of God, nor of the book of the covenant, nor of the formal ratification of the covenant between God and Israel, but immediately upon the arrival of the people at Sinai Moses makes the ascent of the mountain which is here recorded and receives direction to make the tabernacle and its vessels and to ordain Aaron to the priesthood and the two tables of the testimony are given him, chs. 25-31.

\* Doubtless Dillmann is right in his contention that reference is here made to additional legislation beyond that already given. But the mistake consists in making the relative clause, "which I have written," refer to the law *הַתּוֹרָה* as well as the commandments *הַמִּצְוֹת*. God promises to give Moses together with the tables of stone a law and in particular a body of commandments written by himself. That these last would be written on the tables of stone is implied but not expressed.

† In the Dissertation at the end of his Commentary, p. 616, Dillmann recedes from this position, but in doing so involves himself in fresh embarrassment. In order to find a law in E, which Moses was yet to receive, he transposes 20:22-23:33 so as to stand after 24:12-14. But this brings him into conflict with 24:3, where Moses repeated to the people "the words of Jehovah and the judgments" which on his own interpretation are these very laws and upon any possible interpretation must certainly include them. Kuenen goes to the extreme of alleging that the Book of the Covenant is only another version of the Deuteronomic law given in the plains of Moab shortly before crossing the Jordan, *Hex.*, p. 260 (4).



But this is rending asunder what belongs most intimately together. Jehovah's consent to dwell in the midst of his people was based upon the covenant just ratified, in which the people pledged obedience to his laws already given. These laws were the book of the covenant and the ten commandments; and the latter are again and again alluded to as the testimony written on tables of stone and to be put in the ark, 25:21; 31:18; 40:20. The critics themselves cannot explain the reason annexed to the fourth commandment, 20:11, without assuming that P had recorded the ten commandments in some passage which has not been preserved. The transactions at Sinai form one connected scheme all the parts of which are mutually related and in the closest interdependence. To parcel them among distinct writers is to reduce the whole to incomplete fragments, produced independently and without reference to each other, which nevertheless, when combined, form a consistent whole without flaw or suture, regularly unfolding from first to last. J and E and P writing independently and without concert have precisely supplemented each other and the record of each is in such vital connection with those of the others that the full significance of any one first appears from their combination. Does sheer accident produce such results, or does this indicate premeditation and design? Is it a piece of patchwork put together by R, or is it a continuous fabric, whose threads are unbroken from end to end?

There is no pretence of any ground for the partition of vs. 1-14 in this chapter on the score of language; and what is urged in vs. 15-18 is of small account. Dillmann confesses that the chief reason for referring the latter verses to P is the necessity of finding in P an introduction to chs. 25-31. The hypothesis must be forced through at all hazards. Narratives must be torn to shreds for the mere sake of keeping up the seeming continuity of each of the imaginary documents.

The linguistic marks of P in vs. 15-18 according to Dillmann are וישכן כבוד יי, ויכס הענן, and בני ישראל.

ויכס הענן is nowhere else used of the cloud covering Mt. Sinai, but an equivalent expression, "there was a thick cloud upon the mount," occurs 19:16 JE. The cloud is elsewhere said to have covered the Tabernacle, all the passages in which this expression is found, being for that reason referred to P.

וישכן כבוד יי The "glory of Jehovah" occurs 33:18,22 J, also Num. 14:21,22, which Dillmann evasively refers to R, but Driver to JE. The phrase "the glory of Jehovah abode" occurs nowhere but in this passage. P says "the cloud abode" but never "the glory abode." J and E use the word שכן *abide* as freely as P does. The appearance of fire on the mount occurs again 19:18 E.

בני ישראל see on ch. 14.

Knobel and Schrader urge *per contra* that these verses are shown to belong to the same narrative with ch. 19 JE by the recurrence of the phrases ראש ההר 24:17 as 19:20; 34:2, and ויקרא אל משה 24:16 as 19:3,20.

Elohim occurs three times in this chapter and each time it is significant and appropriate. In v. 10 "the God of Israel" expresses the relation which Jehovah had now assumed by entering into covenant with Israel. "They saw God," v. 11, האלהים the divine Being just described; "the mount of God," v. 13, viz., that in which this divine Being had manifested himself. The prominent thought is that of the divine as distinguished from the human or merely natural.

The divine names do not accord here with the hypothesis of the critics. They cannot avoid giving Jehovah to E, while E has Elohim but once out of the three times that it occurs, vs. 9-11a being assigned to J (Dillm.) or regarded as a later interpolation in E (Wellh.).

Dillmann says that E calls the tables of stone **לַחַת אֲבָנִים**, J **שְׁנֵי לַחַת אֲבָנִים** and P **שְׁנֵי לַחַת הָעֵדוּת**; but in order to make this out it is necessary to split 31:18, where E's and P's terms occur together, and to slice a clause containing P's term out of 32:15 which is in a J and E context. **לַחַת אֲבָנִים** is natural enough, **אֲבָן** in the singular denoting the material, but when the numeral is added **אֲבָנִים** is invariably used in the plural and then only, the sole seeming exception being Deut. 9:9 where the numeral occurs in the immediate context, vs. 10,11.

### 5. Chapter 31:18-32:35.

Wellhausen remarks that "the Jehovist\* (i. e. Rj) is here more than a Redactor: he may be regarded as the real author of the section relating to the legislation on Sinai, Ex. 19-34. Whilst elsewhere he retreats entirely behind his sources, he here too indeed gives them in great part *verbatim*, but only uses them as material for a structure of his own." The same thing occurs in some other places likewise, as "in the history of Abraham and the call of Moses." In other words the so-called Redactor has constructed a narrative out of the documents that lay before him, which those documents do not warrant, but which is largely his own invention. If the composite character of this narrative were admitted, the question would still arise whether the Redactor, who by the hypothesis possessed the documents in their completeness, was not less liable to mistake their meaning than the modern critic who can only disentangle them by an intricate and dubious process.

The confession that the documents, as the critics profess to restore them, do not correspond in the account which they render with the narrative into which the Redactor has combined them, is proof positive that they are wrong in their conclusions. And the reason is obvious: for the fallacy is transparent. Separate portions of the legislation or of the transactions connected with it are assigned to different documents as though they were variant statements of the same thing, instead of successive items in a continuous series. And then these distinct parts are made equal to one another and each equal to the sum of the whole. Nothing but confusion can result from so perverse a method. It is not surprising that the conclusion is just what Kittell states it to be, *Geschichte d. Hebräer*, p. 212: "A profound and almost impenetrable obscurity rests upon the transactions at Sinai. . . . And the several narrators differ more seriously still as to the contents and the compass of the laws there given."

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\* In the nomenclature of Wellhausen the Jehovist (JE) is distinct from the Jahvist (J), and represents the Redactor who combined the documents J and E into one work. But there is an ambiguity in the symbol JE, which sometimes denotes J and E in combination, and sometimes the additions made by the Redactor who combined them. It contributes to clearness to adopt Jülicher's designation of the various Redactors, Rj who added J to E, Rd who added Deut. to JE, Rp who added P to DJE.

There is no ground for the allegation that vs. 7-14 conflict with statements elsewhere and hence are indicative of variant narratives (Dillm.) or are an interpolation (Knob., Wellh., Kuen.). Wellhausen infers from 31:18 that God's interview with Moses came to an end without being broken off by any extraordinary event, as in 32:7sq., which simply illustrates how easy it is to create discrepancies by putting a meaning upon words which they do not contain. It is said that Moses, 32:18, betrays his ignorance of what was taking place in the camp, and hence no such communication as 32:7 sq. could have been made to him. But the very contrary is the fact. It was this and not superior acuteness of hearing which enabled him to interpret correctly the confused sounds which Joshua mistook for battle cries; though he did not deem it necessary to explain to his attendant all that he knew. Moses does not drop the tables in surprise and horror, v. 19, as though he had just become aware of the people's idolatry (Eichhorn). He indignantly casts them down and breaks them since the covenant had been broken, of which they were the pledge. Nor is there any inconsistency between vs. 7sq. and vs. 30sq. as though the words of Moses, v. 31, must have been the first mention of the people's sin and would have been different, if the Lord has spoken of it to him before; to which Dillmann replies that the deprecatory particle **נָסַח** shows the contrary, and the offence, for which forgiveness is implored, is only briefly stated and not with the fulness that might in the first instance have been expected, and Moses is not asking for a forgiveness which had already been promised. The successive steps in Moses' intercession and God's pardoning mercy are very distinctly marked. God will not at once destroy the transgressing people, v. 14, but he has not forgiven their sin, and no positive bestowment of favor is suggested, only the negative resolve not to consume them instantly. And perhaps Kurtz is correct in inferring from the language used that even this was simply the divine purpose, which was not as yet made known to Moses.

The "two tables of the testimony" regarded as a mark of P perversely occur, 31:18, in immediate conjunction with "tables of stone" a mark of E, and, 32:15, in an E and J context. Dillmann boldly slices out the unwelcome expression. Vatke on the strength of it gives vs. 15b, 16 to P, but has no following. Elohim in these verses is the proper term; it distinguishes the work of God from the work of man and can therefore be no index of E. No critic pretends to follow the indication of the divine names in the dissection of this chapter.

That vs. 7sq. is an original part of the preceding context is sufficiently vouched for by Deut. 9:10-15. Dillmann admits this and gives vs. 1-14 to J, but claims that vs. 15-19a\* "constitute a separate paragraph belonging to E. Verse

\* Dillmann severs the opening words of v. 19 (as far as "camp") from the sentence, of which they are a part, and attaches them to vs. 25-29 in order that he may have it to say that **מַחֲנֶה** *camp* is peculiar to E in this chapter. This is on the principle that a critic can move clauses and paragraphs from place to place *ad libitum* to answer his purposes, as though they were pieces on a chess board.



15, however, is indissolubly linked with v. 7, on the one hand, to which it stands in intimate relation, as with 19b on the other; for, as Kittell observes, the reason why the tables are particularly mentioned in v. 15, is because of what was to be further said about them, v. 19. The reference to the calf in v. 19 binds it to v. 20, as is universally conceded, and both to vs. 1-6. Knobel, Wellhausen and Kuenen are right, therefore, as against Dillmann in maintaining that vs. 15-20 belong together and are part of the same narrative with vs. 1-6; while Dillmann is right in linking vs. 1-6 with vs. 7-14 as well as with vs. 21-24 whose references to the opening verses of the chapter are too plain to be set aside. Vs. 1-24 cannot be separated.

But it has been claimed that vs. 25-29 give quite a different version of what had taken place, according to which it was not a lapse into idolatry but a general insurrection. Aaron and Hur,\* in whose hands the management of affairs had been left during Moses' absence, 24:14, had been unable to control the people, and they were in a state of tumultuous insubordination. Such a turbulent outbreak, it is urged, would expose them to the derision of their enemies, v. 25, but their idolatry would not, for their enemies were idolaters themselves, and this alone would justify the summary measures by which Moses promptly quelled the riot, vs. 26-28, but which, it is said, would have been needlessly cruel to a people who, though they had fallen into idolatry, had submitted to the destruction of their idol and to the humiliation of drinking the water with which its ashes and its filings had been mingled. Moreover (HEBRAICA, p. 261, note 4), "the Ephraimite E could not very well condemn *this* calf as idolatry, in view of the worship at Bethel."

But even Kuenen, who says, Hex., p. 245, that "Ex. 32:1sq. can only be understood as a condemnation of the established religion of Northern Israel, and at the same time of the priests connected with it, who probably traced their descent from Aaron" (! cf. 1 Kgs. 12:31), reminds us that "this condemnation is quite in the spirit of Amos and still more of Hosea." Wellhausen and Vatke do not hesitate to refer vs. 1-6 to E and to regard vs. 25-29 as a late interpolation, which so far from ignoring the golden calf is concerned to inflict a deserved penalty upon idolaters. And if, as the critics claim, E recorded the decalogue, he certainly had no sympathy with Jeroboam's iniquitous calf-worship. But at any rate no critical notions of what E would or would not have condemned, can be suffered to determine the interpretation of this passage. It is plain that the author of the chapter in its present form, be he Moses or be he one of the numerous R's, who on the critics' hypothesis have manipulated the text, understood this paragraph, as it must be understood in its connection. The people's being "let loose,"

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\* Dillmann says "The omission of Hur, v. 25, is due to R." This is a confession that Hur's name would have been joined with that of Aaron in this verse if the reference were to their inability to perform the duty assigned them, 24:14.

v. 25, can only denote the wild and frenzied excitement with which they were conducting their idolatrous orgies. This gives the word its appropriate sense; and it is as unnecessary as it is unwarranted to impose a meaning upon it, which shall put it at variance with its entire context. There is no justification of such a procedure, which is opposed to all the laws of sound interpretation. Their idolatry exposed them to the scorn of their foes by putting them under the ban of Jehovah's displeasure, as Moses pleads in his supplication on their behalf, v. 12.

It is urged (HEBRAICA, p. 262) that the wholesale slaughter here inaugurated and the gracious disposition shown the next morning argues "either another Moses or another writer." This is to deny the compatibility of the character in which Jehovah revealed himself on this very occasion, 34:6,7. Moses' earnest and repeated supplications on the people's behalf were not inconsistent with, but derived their urgency from his profound sense of the great sin which they had sinned. This gross act of treason and rebellion against their divine Sovereign could not be altogether condoned. The occasion called for resolute dealing and stern infliction. Moses' ardent love for his people, which poured itself forth in his prayers that they might be forgiven, did not unfit him for leadership in an emergency when the instant suppression of treason was his first duty.

Kuenen, Hex., p. 247, regards vs. 25-29 as an interpolation, in which Deut. 33:9 is translated into a visible act and preparation is made for the deuteronomic representation of the election of Levi as the priestly tribe. Dillmann, on the contrary, maintains that it is not an insertion by R with reference to Gen. 49:7 and Deut. 33:9 but E described in this place the induction of the Levites to priestly service; as, however, the passage deviated from the doctrine of P respecting priests and Levites it was omitted, or only an abstract or intimation of it given and hence the broken sentences in v. 29. It is observable how many of the inconsistencies alleged exist purely in the critics' imagination. The document E here contradicted P, but R has discreetly dropped the contradictory portion. One might think that the critics had seen the original documents and knew just what they contained. It is enough that we are assured that the discrepancy is not in the still surviving text. When the original documents are produced, it will be time to deal with the question of their reconciliation.

The behavior of the Levites on this occasion certainly paved the way for the assignment of the priesthood and of the ministration at the sanctuary to this tribe. This is distinctly indicated in the last blessing of Moses, Deut. 33:9: and thus the sentence passed upon Levi for his intemperate zeal, Gen. 49:7, had its fulfilment in the dignity conferred upon his descendants for their pious loyalty unswervingly maintained at the sacrifice of earthly relationships. But v. 29 does not affirm and does not imply that the tribe of Levi was entrusted at this time with the sacred functions, which according to Leviticus, chs. 8,9; Num. 3:5 sqq.; 8:5 sqq.; 18:6 were subsequently committed to them. It is most naturally under-

stood as supplementary to or explanatory of the order given by Moses in v. 27. "Fill your hand to Jehovah," i. e., bring this tribute of service to him of disregarding even the nearest and dearest of human ties and he will bless you for it. Or if it be supposed to be spoken after their self-sacrificing deed of loyalty had been performed, and in commendation of it, while it promises them a blessing from the Lord, it does not specify what that blessing would be.

It is particularly perplexing to those critics who regard this history as an invention of later times reflecting the feelings entertained in Judah toward the calf-worship in Israel that no exception is made in favor of Judah in the present instance and that, while the Levites were faithful, Aaron the future high priest was involved in the sin.

Wellhausen thinks that v. 35 is the proper sequel of vs. 19,20, and in his eager desire to bring them together insists that not only vs. 21-29 but vs. 30-34 is an interpolation. The majority of critics, however, confess that the latter passage is an essential part of the narrative. That it is not inconsistent with v. 14 has already been shown. The statement in 34b that the punishment of their sin was yet future is not at variance with v. 28. For the severity which put an end to the idolatrous frenzy did not supersede the penalty which the Lord should see fit to inflict. Neither is the fact that the infliction is described, v. 35, in such general terms, that we are unable to identify the particular occasion or occasions referred to, a reason for suspecting the genuineness of the verse. In conformity with the usage of Hebrew historians it is here proleptically asserted that the Lord actually did as he had threatened. Hence the resumption in 33:1 of the direction already given, 32:34, in order to continue the narrative. This shows that v. 35, although parenthetic, belongs where it stands, and is not as Dillmann affirms an insertion by R. And that the making of the calf is attributed both to the people and to Aaron follows naturally from the facts of the case and does not justify the assumption that two different narratives are here mingled.

## 6. Chapter 33.

Dillmann argues that as Moses' intercession is continued 33:12\* from 32:31-34 J, as though there had been no interruption, the intervening verses do not belong originally and properly in this place, but 33:1-11 must have been inserted from another document and are therefore to be attributed to E. But it is obvious that there is no change of writers, for the forms of expression in v. 12 are borrowed from vs. 1,2 (bring up, send), and vs. 4-11 are entirely appropriate as illustrating the situation and preparing the way for the next step in the mediation of Moses.

Knobel and Schrader find no difficulty in regarding vs. 1-11 as the product of one writer and connecting this paragraph with the main body of the narrative in

\* Stress is here laid by Dillmann and in *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 263, upon "the participle *אֵלֶּיךָ*, as if Yahweh were just speaking." Are we then to infer from the participles in 5:8,17, that Moses and Aaron were still continuing their address to the king in the name of the people, v. 1?



ch. 32.\* Wellhausen finds in these verses variant accounts by J and E blended. He connects that of J directly with 24:3-8. Moses having received the laws contained in the book of the covenant and written them down at God's command and received the people's pledge of obedience, the purpose of their stay at Sinai is accomplished and they are bidden to proceed on their way to Canaan without any extraordinary event to give occasion to it. This is represented in vs. 1,3a,12,14. There is no indication of displeasure in directing them to go to the land promised to their forefathers, the land flowing with milk and honey. According to E they are required to leave Sinai, the place of God's abode, as a penalty for the sin of the golden calf. Dillmann also finds J and E blended here, but the division is differently conducted and proceeds from a different point of view. E knows nothing of the golden calf, but the people are directed to go on to Canaan under the leadership of the angel of Jehovah, who in his conception is identical with Jehovah himself. Every word or clause implying censure or the refusal of Jehovah to accompany the people is carefully stricken out as an interpolation from J, who conceives of the angel as a substitute for Jehovah, who is offended by the people's sin. By such arbitrary erasures and groundless assumptions a critic can of course pervert a passage to any sense, which he chooses to put upon it. But this is neither rational criticism nor honest interpretation.

The fact that Moses is bidden to lead the people on to Canaan does not prove under the circumstances that the purpose for which they had been brought to Sinai was now accomplished. The Lord had given to Moses, chs. 25-31, a body of directions respecting a sanctuary and a priesthood in order to give effect to the covenant, into which he had lately entered with Israel. But they had violated their stipulations and the Lord will not now establish among them those gracious institutions which he had outlined. They are told to leave Sinai with Jehovah alienated from them and all those contemplated measures, by which their covenant relation to him was to be cemented and perpetuated, broken off. Jehovah's connection with them is severed. He is no longer Jehovah their God who brought them out of the land of Egypt, 20:2, nor does he acknowledge them as his people, 19:5,6. They are the people, whom Moses brought up from Egypt, v. 1, cf. 32:1, 7, a stiff-necked people, whom Jehovah would consume if he were to go in the midst of them, vs. 3,5.

The inconsistencies, which critics find between this passage and statements elsewhere are purely of their own creation, and have no existence in the passage itself. They amount simply to this. If these verses said what they do not in fact say, but what the critics torture them into saying by gratuitous erasures and insertions, then they would contradict other passages. But the question remains, which is discredited in consequence, the consistency of the record or the conjectural emendations of the critics?

\* Knobel links 33:1-11 with 32:1-6,15-20,30-34; Schrader with 32:1-14,21-35. Between them they tie it fast to the entire chapter.

It is said that the time here fixed for leaving Sinai conflicts with Num. 10:11 sqq. But there is no intimation in the chapter before us or in those that follow, that Israel actually left Sinai at this time; but the contrary plainly appears. They are told to go forward without Jehovah's having taken up his dwelling in the midst of them. But when their offence was forgiven, the reason for the command ceased, and things returned to the condition in which they were before the trespass.

That the angel here commissioned to attend them is contrasted with Jehovah's presence, vs. 2,3, while of the angel in 23:20,21 it is said that Jehovah's name is in him, is not a discrepancy but marks a distinction. It simply shows that a different angel is meant, or that he is differently empowered.

The statement of the passage is clear that the people laid aside their ornaments in grief and penitence; grief, not that they were to leave Sinai and go on to Canaan. They had not come out of Egypt to take up their abode in the desert. The land flowing with milk and honey was their eagerly desired goal from the first. Their grief was that they must go laden with God's displeasure. But the critics have changed all this. Without a word of justification in the text and in the face of its explicit declaration they claim that these ornaments were contributed for the construction of the sacred tabernacle. Then we are told that the original document must have related between vs. 6 and 7 how the tabernacle was made from these contributed materials. The whole thing is a sheer fabrication, based upon nothing but the arbitrary fancy of the critics.

Whence then, it is asked, came "the tent," v. 7, which Moses used to take and pitch without the camp, afar off from the camp and call it the Tent of Meeting? Surely it is not necessary to the answer of this question to invent a story, which has no countenance in this passage and flatly contradicts every other relating to the subject. Yet this is what the critics do. And on the ground of the contradiction between their manufactured story and numerous explicit testimonies they would have us believe that this is from a different document and gives an altered version of the origin of the sacred Tent.

Observe that the statement, v. 7, is not that Moses took "the Tent of Meeting" which had now been built, but he took "the tent" and called it "the Tent of Meeting." Obviously a pre-existing tent receives a new name, and is devoted to a new purpose. The language is different when the erection of the Tent of Meeting proper is described, 40:2. The definite article means simply that some particular tent, which though not mentioned before was definitely before the mind of the writer and perhaps well known to his readers, was employed and designated as is here stated, cf. Num. 11:27; 1 Sam. 9:9; 2 Sam. 17:17. It may have been Moses' tent, in which he received the people who resorted to him to inquire of God, 18:15, or it may have been some other. We are not informed and it is of no consequence.

The tense of the verbs in vs. 7-11 denotes habitual action; but it cannot hence be inferred that this was the permanent sanctuary used throughout the journeyings in the desert. It simply describes the usage during the time of this provisional sanctuary, extending it may be to the erection of the Tabernacle proper.

Dillmann complains that vs. 7-11 have no connection either with what precedes or follows. Kuenen, too, regards it as an isolated fragment, the sole surviving remnant of E's narrative, all about it being rejected, as interpolations or later additions, and is impelled to say, *Hex.*, p. 251, "Here it may well be objected that criticism so freely applied positively eliminates the subject on which it is operating." But in fact the passage stands in a most intimate and significant relation to its context. The name applied to this provisional structure is taken from the directions given to Moses in relation to the future sanctuary, 27:21; 28:43, etc., etc. It temporarily represented the idea, which was to be embodied in that sanctuary and thus set forth in a striking manner by a visible token the strained relations between Jehovah and the people. Jehovah had not abandoned them entirely nor withdrawn from them every token of his favor; at the same time he was estranged and distant, for their gross iniquity was still remembered against them and was yet unforgiven. A sanctuary was, therefore, set up, where Jehovah spake with Moses and to which the people might resort; and under the circumstances this was an amazing grace, so that all the people gazed after Moses with admiration till he entered it, and when the pillar of cloud descended and talked with him they fell prostrate in adoration. Nevertheless this sanctuary was pitched without instead of within the camp and at a great distance from it: for Jehovah refused to have his abode in the midst of them.

Joshua, Moses' attendant, though an Ephraimite, was the guardian of this tent, the Levites not having yet been appointed to the service of the sanctuary.

Dillmann urges that vs. 14-17 are out of place and should properly stand after 34:9, as it would be superfluous for Moses to ask in the latter passage what had already been granted in the former. But this is a misapprehension. Knobel and Schrader take a juster view of the connection when they link v. 14 to 12a as the answer to the petition there implied, for which Moses presses his plea in 12b, 13, renewing it in vs. 15, 16 and thus obtaining a repetition of the promise in v. 17. 34:9 goes beyond the prayer that God's presence should go with them; it is an entreaty that he would not only go in the midst of them, but would pardon their iniquity and take them for his inheritance. In other words it looks to a full renewal of the covenant relation.

Moses' prayer, v. 14, that Jehovah would shew him his glory was not prompted by a curious desire to see so magnificent a spectacle. He asks as the mediator and intercessor for Israel for such a visible manifestation of God's presence and glory, as would be a token of peace and of the re-establishment of near and friendly relations between Jehovah and his offending people.



## 7. Chapter 34.

Wellhausen finds in this chapter a third variant account of the transactions at Sinai, additional to those in the preceding chapters from J and E, and from an independent source, of which there are no traces elsewhere. The commands to Moses to ascend the mountain, v. 2, and to guard it from the intrusion of men and cattle, v. 3, and the descent of the Lord upon it in a cloud, v. 5, are in his view parallel to what is recorded in ch. 19 and relate to the same occasion. In vs. 10, 11 God speaks of making a covenant and requires obedience to that which he commands; he does not say that he is about to renew a broken covenant. He accordingly gives the ten words to Moses, vs. 14-26, who writes them on two tables of stone, vs. 27, 28, this being an entirely different version of the ten commandments from that in ch. 20. This is related not as the third, but as the first and only divine revelation made at Sinai. All that is necessary to bring this about is to strike out from v. 1 everything after "Hew thee two tables of stone;" and to regard the words "like unto the first; and I will write upon these tables the words that were in the first tables which thou brakest" as an insertion by R with the view of harmonizing this with the preceding. It is apparent how easily a critic can alter the entire purport of a narrative and impose his own ideas upon it by arbitrarily expunging from the text a significant clause, which is the index to its true meaning and connection.

Wellhausen thus makes out three conflicting stories of the giving of the law on Sinai. In E the ten commandments are uttered by the voice of God in the audience of the people, and are subsequently written by him on two tables of stone, which were given to Moses after an abode of forty days on the mount, but which he broke on witnessing the idolatry of the people. It is not certain what further was done with them, but probably they were kept in that broken condition. J knows nothing of the ten commandments or tables of stone; but records that a body of laws was given to Moses on Sinai, which he wrote in the book of the covenant, and the people were pledged to obey them. The third account in ch. 34 agrees with E in its two tables, ten words, and forty days; but the tables were prepared and written by Moses and not by God and like the book of the covenant in J the commandments were given to Moses not spoken to the people. The ten commandments in ch. 34 are of a ritual nature; those in ch. 20 are moral and represent a much later religious development.

A pretext for these brain-spun notions is sought in the circumstance that the subject of the verb "wrote," v. 28, is not expressed, though it is plain from v. 1 that Jehovah is intended; and Jehovah occurs in the preceding clause though not the subject of it. In spite of this, however, Wellhausen makes Moses the subject and so confuses the words which Moses was directed to write, v. 27, with "the words of the covenant, the ten commandments," which were written by the Lord

upon the tables. Several scholars, who do not share the absurd notion, first suggested in a juvenile production of Goethe, then caught up by Hitzig, that vs. 14-26 is a variant record of the original decalogue, have sought to find just ten commands in these verses. As groups of ten are found in other Pentateuchal laws, it has been thought that the same might be the case here. There is no little divergence, however, in the attempted identifications of the requisite number. Dillmann pronounces it impracticable. Wellhausen and Kuenen take refuge in the plea that the original number has been obscured by additions and alterations of the text.

Dillmann sets aside Wellhausen's arbitrary treatment of this chapter and proposes another, which though less grotesque is equally arbitrary. He claims that v. 10 is no proper answer to the petition of v. 9; that the real answer is contained in 33:14-17, which should be substituted for 34:10-27; the latter is J's version of the book of the covenant and belongs before ch. 24.

But everything is in place as it stands. The Lord's gracious promise to replace the broken tables by writing the decalogue afresh, v. 1, his permitting Moses in his immediate presence, v. 5, and the proclamation of his forgiving mercy, vs. 6,7, encourage the supplication for a full pardon for the people and that the Lord would take them for his inheritance, v. 9. To this the Lord responds by engaging to enter into covenant with them, v. 10. It is the old covenant renewed. The injunctions of the Book of the Covenant, which specially concern their duty to God, are written afresh by Moses; and these together with the ten commandments once more written by the Lord on tables of stone constitute the basis of that engagement into which Jehovah now again enters with Israel, whose apostasy he has pardoned and whom he has again taken as his inheritance, a people peculiarly his own.

The concluding verses of the chapter, vs. 29-35, are assigned by the critics to P because of the expressions "the two tables of the testimony," v. 29, (though this occurs, 32:15, in a verse assigned to E), the mention of "Aaron" (repeatedly in E, 17:10; ch. 24; ch. 32), "children of Israel" (33:5,6 and elsewhere in E), "princes in the congregation" (referred by rule to P wherever it occurs). But vs. 34,35 create trouble by their evident reference to the sanctuary. That which is spoken of in sections assigned to P was not yet built. The reference can only be to the provisional sanctuary in 33:7-11: but that is a passage, which the critics tell us belongs to E. So that here again the partition between P and JE is annulled. The only escape is by means of the evasion that this is not an original part of P but a later interpolation.

It is spoken of, *HEBRAICA*, VI., p. 253, as "decidedly strange that Moses' face had never shone before in his many interviews with God." The peculiarity of the present instance is obvious. He had now had as never before a vision of

Jehovah's glory to the full extent to which a man could see it and live, 33:18-23; 34:5-8. But this peculiarity, which is necessary to the explanation of this passage in P, is only recorded in J; so that here again the partition between P and JE falls away.

## 1) LANGUAGE OF P.\*

## OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה. (2) כבוד יהוה Sect. 15, Lang. of P.

(3) עֶרְת Sect. 15, Lang. of P. (4) נְשִׂיא Sect. 15, Lang. of P.

## 2) LANGUAGE OF J.†

## OLD WORDS.

(1) יהוה. (2) עֵתָה V., p. 155; also in E; in P, Gen. 49:5. (3) שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל V., p. 154. (4) אֲנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E; in P, Gen. 28:4. (5) בְּעִבּוֹר V., p. 155. (6) יָרַד also in P, Ex. 34:29b; Lev. 9:22; Num. 1:51; 4:5; 10:17; 20:28; 34:11:12; Josh. 15:10; 16:7; 17:9; 18:13,16-18. (7) יָרָה Sect. 8, Lang. of E. (8) פָּן V., p. 155; also in E. (9) פָּרַץ Sect. 8, Lang. of J; also in E. (10) לָפִיד Sect. 5, Lang. of J; only twice in Hex. (11) מִרְחָק Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (12) הִשְׁכֵּם בְּבֹקֶר Sect. 6, Lang. of J. (13) עֹלָה (to sacrifice) Sect. 3, Lang. of J; also in E; in P, Ex. 30:9; 40:29; Lev. 14:20; 17:8. (14) עָלָה do. do. (15) פָּרַק Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (16) חָרָה אֵף Sect. 2, Lang. of J. (17) הִרְגָּה Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (18) אָרַמָּה V., p. 153. (19) נָחַם (repent) Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (20) מִחֻלָּת Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (21) אָוִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E; once in P. (22) נָא Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in E; once in P. (23) נָחָה Sect. 15, Lang. of J; also in E. (24) גָּרַשׁ V., p. 154; also in E and P. (25) שָׁתָה Sect. 8, Lang. of J; also in E. (26) חָן בְּעֵינַי מִצָּאָה Sect. 3, Lang. of J. (27) לָמַעַן Sect. 15, Lang. of J; also in E and P. (28) אָפָא Sect. 7, Lang. of J; 3 times J, once E. (29) פָּלָה Sect. 14, Lang. of J. (30) חָנַן Sect. 8, Lang. of E; once in P. (31) נָצַב עַל Sect. 8,

Lang. of J; also in E. (32) צוֹר Sect. 15, Lang. of E. (33) נָכוֹן Sect. 10, Lang. of E. (34) קָרַר Sect. 12, Lang. of E. (35) שְׁלֵשִׁים קָרַר וְהִשְׁתַּחֲוִה Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (36) אָרָנִי Sect. 13, Lang. of J; also in E. (37) כָּרַת בְּרִית V., p. 174 (6:18); also in E; (38) מָהַר Sect. 6, Lang. of J; also in E. (39) נִפְלְאוֹת Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (40) גָּרַשׁ see No. 24 above. (41) הִשְׁמַר לָ רִיקָם Sect. 7, Lang. of J; also in E. (42) רִיקָם Sect. 13, Lang. of E. (43) לֹוֹן Sect. 6, Lang. of J; also in E. (44) גָּרִי Sect. 7, Lang. of J; also in E.

## NEW WORDS.

(1) עָשָׂן (verb) Ex. 19:18 (Dillm. E); all in Hex. (2) מָהַר (adverb) Ex. 32:8 J; Josh. 2:5 Rd; eight times in Deuteronomy; all in Hex. (3) בָּשַׁשׁ (delay) Ex. 32:1 J; besides in O. T. only Judg. 5:28. (4) חָלָה אֶת פָּנַי Ex. 32:11 J; all in Hex. (5) טָחַן Ex. 32:20 J; Num. 11:8 E; Deut. 9:21; all in Hex. (6) נָקַרְתָּ הַצּוֹר Ex. 33:22 J; besides in O. T. only Isa. 2:21. (7) פָּסַל (verb) Ex. 34:1,4 J; Deut. 10:1,3; all in Hex. (8) נָצַר Ex. 34:7 J; Deut. 32:10; 33:9; all in Hex. (9) תְּקִיפַת הַשָּׁנָה Ex. 34:22; all in Hex.

## LANGUAGE OF E.‡

## OLD WORDS.

(1) אֱלֹהִים. (2) נָכוֹן Sect. 10, Lang. of E; also in J. (3) הִשְׁמַר לָ Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (4) אֲנֹכִי Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (5) מִבֵּית עֲבָדִים Sect. 15, Lang. of J. (6) שְׁלֵשִׁים Sect. 16, Lang. of J. (7) עָשָׂה חֹסֵד Sect. 7, Lang. of J. (8) אָמָה Sect.

6, Lang. of E; also in P. (9) עֵל-כֵּן Sect. 5, Lang. of J; also in P. (10) לָמַעַן Sect. 15, Lang. of J. (11) אָרַמָּה V., p. 153; also in J. (12) חָמַר Ex. 20:17b; E; Gen. 2:9; 3:6; Ex. 34:24; Josh. 7:21 J; Deut. 5:18; 7:25; all in Hex. (13) פָּן V., p. 155; also in J. (14) נִסָּה Sect. 15, Lang. of J.

\* The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 252.

† The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 255 sq.

‡ The numbers are those of HEBRAICA, VI., p. 260.



- (15) לקראת Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (16) גֵּרֶשׁ V., p. 154; also in J and P. (17) שִׁית Sect. 8, Lang. of J. (18) שְׁמַע בְּקוֹל V., p. 154; also in J. (19) עֹלָה (sacrifice) Sect. 3, Lang. of J; also in P. (20) כֶּרֶת בְּרִית V., p. 174; also in J. (21) אִישׁ...רַעְהוּ V., p. 154; also in J. (22) הָרֹג Sect. 13, Lang. of J. (23) חֹרֵב Sect. 13, Lang. of E; apart from Deuteronomy three times in Hex. (24) אָהַל Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (25) הִכִּיתָ Sect. 5, Lang. of J. (26) הִמָּשׁח Sect. 15, Lang. of J. (27) נָשָׂא (forgive) Sect. 6, Lang. of J. in Deuteronomy; all in O. T. אֵל קָנוֹא Josh. 24:19 E; but once beside in O. T., Nah. 1:2.
- (2) עֶרְפֹּל Ex. 20:21 E; twice in Deuteronomy; all in Hex.
- (3) גִּזִּית Ex. 20:25 E; all in Hex.
- (4) מַעֲלוֹת Ex. 20:26 E; all in Hex.
- (5) אִיב (verb) Ex. 23:22 E; all in O. T.
- (6) צִרְעָה Ex. 23:28; Josh. 24:12 E; Deut. 7:20; all in O. T.
- (7) אָנָּן Ex. 24:6; all in Hex.
- (8) רָעָה (tumult) Ex. 32:17 E; all in Hex.
- (9) שְׁמִצָּה Ex. 32:25 E; all in O. T.
- (10) עָרִי Ex. 33:4,5,6 E; all in Hex.

## NEW WORDS.

- (1) אֵל קָנוֹא Ex. 20:5 E; 35:14 J; three times

## CONCLUSION.

It will be observed that in this as in the preceding sections no discrimination is made or attempted between J and E in point of language. With insignificant exceptions every word that appears with any frequency in one is found also in the other. There is not the slightest pretext for partitioning the history, which has been under review, between these alleged documents on the ground of diversity of language. The only remaining pretext is that of doublets, incongruities and inconsistencies. Of these the ordinary English reader is as competent to judge as the most profound Hebraist. We have seen in the course of our detailed examination that these exist only in the imagination of the critics, and that they vanish upon any fairminded and rational interpretation. The havoc, that is made of the self-consistent, perfectly credible and well attested narrative of the transactions at Sinai, results merely from a gratuitous attempt to force through a divisive hypothesis, which has no support in either the language or the contents of the sacred record.

These transactions constitute a well ordered whole, all the parts of which are in evident mutual relation, each necessary in its place and contributing to the completeness of the general scheme, which is plainly no conglomerate of diverse documents however skilfully pieced together, but the carefully devised plan of one directing mind. To sunder what is so organically related is without reason to mutilate and destroy it.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF GEOGRAPHY.

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### III. MIMRA 'AL ŠABH'Ā KLĪMĒ.

In continuation of my former contributions to the history of geography among the Syrians,<sup>1</sup> I present here a third text. It is taken from a Vatican parchment MS. which is dated 1291 of the Greek era (= A. D. 980). According to Assemani<sup>2</sup> the codex was written "in coenobio S. Aaron in Sigara ditionis Collissuræ sub Patriarchis Joanne Antiocheno, et Nina Alexandrino Jacobitarum." He states further, "Titulus libri *Onomasticon*, seu lectiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti juxta traditionem Karkaphitarum." Through the good offices of Prof. Ignazio Guidi—the ever ready helper—a copy was made for me by a Maronite in Rome, and afterwards collated with the original by Guidi himself.

Who the author of the little tract is, I am unable to say. In the heading the name of Philoponus is mentioned. Whether John the Grammarian<sup>3</sup> is intended or not I am uncertain, because of the word 'nāš preceding. It might simply be an adjective *laboris amans*.<sup>4</sup> Assemani has referred it to David of Beth Rabban.<sup>5</sup> But the codex in which this *mimra* occurs is dated A. D. 980, "onde vedesi che l'Autore è anteriore almeno alla fine del secolo. Chi egli forse s'ignora, nè l'Assemani crede che si porsa attribuire il carme a David di Bēth Rabbān"—as Guidi very correctly remarks. Towards the end of the "poem," the author says that on some other occasion he has spoken at length on the beauties of the City of Rome. But this gives us no further clue.

The geographical material in the treatise is small. The author is evidently a theologian. In a most general way, he sketches the position of the different *κλίματα*, and tells the chief places of interest in them. His information in regard to these places he has probably culled from very various sources: it hardly pays to go far in search of these sources. Though we learn little from such treatises,

<sup>1</sup> *Mittheilungen des Akademisch-Orientalistischen Vereins zu Berlin*, No. 3, 1890. HEBRAICA, VII., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *B. O.*, ii., p. 499.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Steinschneider, *Alfarabi*, p. 152 sqq. Payne Smith, Col. 3108, where in the gloss of B. B. we must read (line 6) *rāḥem kē'vē*. See also Cols. 1573, 1653.

<sup>4</sup> *B. O.*, iii., 1, p. 256.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. my article, *PAOS.*, May 15-16, 1891, p. cxi. Wright, *Catalogue*, Index, s. v.





















261	ܐܡܐ ܠܡܢ ܠܡܡܢܐܬܐ.	ܐܡܐ ܫܝܬܐ ܡܡܢܐ.
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261	ܠܐ ܡܡܢܐ ܫܡܢܐ ܫܡܢܐ.	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ ܫܡܢܐ.
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281	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ ܫܡܢܐ.	ܡܡܢܐ ܡܡܢܐ ܫܡܢܐ.

Discourse by one Philoponos on the seven *κλίματα*, in the metre of Mār(i) Afrem. May his prayer be with us!

Thou hast asked me, O my beloved, in regard to the measurement of the *κλίματα*. In a few words I will finish off that which [really] demands a long explanation. In short lines I will draw for thee a great picture of the inhabited world. I will speak to thee in metre that there may be in thy understanding a remembrance. According to the number of days which occur in each week, so have the wise men divided the face<sup>8</sup> of the whole earth. In seven days are completed the

<sup>8</sup> The Syriac text has 1<sup>e</sup>bhetta, a brick. But the meaning must be as I have translated. Kosmas Indikopleustes has a comparison with the table in the tent of the assembly. Cf. Kretschmer, *Physische Erdkunde im Christlichen Mittelalter*, p. 43.

measures of times and of years. And so, in seven κλίματα is comprised the earth in its immensity. In the wisdom of those having understanding and according to the measurements of the knowing, they have comprehended and estimated creation in measurements according to law. The originator was Ptolomy, also Peter the philosopher.<sup>9</sup> Wise men followed after him. In a variety of scripts those who know beautiful things<sup>10</sup> filled 'with their writings the earth. Like lillies in the valleys, the beauty of their words sprouted forth. Like a rose among the thorns their compilation is pleasant to the eyes. With figures—like the color of flowers—they have increased beauty.<sup>11</sup> For the sake of argument<sup>12</sup> they have composed and written, and in order to make [it] plain, they have made use of figures. From one to the other beauty is added by the letters. Now I also have come in old age.<sup>13</sup> I speak as has come to me. In poetic measures I add knowledge to the reader and to the understanding of his thought.<sup>14</sup>

The number seven is important. In it time passes and commences where it ends. Its traces are not clear. There are seven ways to its going. It causes the times of things to pass. In the seven miles<sup>15</sup> which the creator has laid down, in them it turns. In seven stations<sup>16</sup> it brings to an end the procession of time for the first ones and the middle ones. In them they are brought to an end. And also as regards those who are to come, in them they find their end. In this number—which is made up of five and two days—in it the wise men comprise the time which is passed. And in this same number the κλίματα finish their course. Draw near, therefore; I will give thee the measures of their different stages according to miles and parasangs. The God of Creation be praised!

<sup>9</sup> Whom our author means I am at a loss to say. Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca*, Vol. xi., p. 334, mentions two codices in the Paris Library *Petri diaconi et philosophi liber de cyclo et indictione* (cod. cmxxix.) and one *de sole, luna, ac sideribus* (cod. mmmxlxxv.); but he refers it to Peter the Deacon (1092), with what right I do not know, as the Catalogue of the Library is not at my disposal. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, Vol. iii., p. 223, doubts the assumption.


<sup>10</sup> I read here .

<sup>11</sup> One can understand our author's figure after having seen a MS. of Ptolemy's geography. I have had before me the splendid reproduction of the MS. in the *Reproduction Photographique du Manuscrit grec du monastère au Mont Athos*, Paris, 1867.

<sup>12</sup> In translating as I have done, I had in view some of the examples cited in Payne Smith, Col. 2111; but I am not at all certain that I have hit the right thing. Other translations are possible.

<sup>13</sup> I take hewärtā in the sense of "old age"; although Payne Smith, Col. 1231, says "in sing. non invenitur pro canis capilis."

<sup>14</sup> See the quotation from Chrysostomos in the first line of Payne Smith's account of this word, Col. 966. We might also translate "of his reading."

<sup>15</sup> I am at a loss to understand to what the writer refers. Or is the word  to be taken in a little different sense? Payne Smith, Col. 2089, end of first paragraph.

<sup>16</sup> I had thought here of the Naxatra or "stations of the moon," about which M. Steinschneider has discoursed so learnedly (*Ueber die Mondstationen (naxatra) und das Buch Arcandam*, ZDMG. xviii., p. 118. Cf. also Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, iii., p. 174. JRAS., 1890, p. 328). In Hebrew they are called battim (Steins., p. 149). But their number is much greater. And what is behind the tripartite division of men?

The first *κλίμα* commences at the extreme south, where light is plentiful and heat is great; where the sun is strong and in its heat burns the earth. On account of its great heat, men [there] are different in character. Their appearance is untoward at their birth. They are black and dark with the color of blackness. They are men who are naked, and live like wild beasts. Outer India is placed in this *κλίμα*. It includes a large tract in which wild animals are found. They are men who have to do with the secrets of magic. The number of their days is long drawn out, and they live for many years. There are also beasts and birds which grow very great in their bodies. There are also there serpents, and great insects without number. The men of that place and *κλίμα* busy themselves with incantations. There are also roots there which have natural powers. There are stones good and full of power and healing. In their nature God placed healing for mankind. The stone is called HAON, also ἰδροπικος<sup>17</sup> stone; when it is used intelligently it is medicine for one afflicted with dropsy. Its length is 605,000 miles according to measurement. Its breadth is 1155 miles. This is the first *κλίμα*, and these are its measurements.

In the second *κλίμα* the Kushites live, among whom<sup>18</sup> there are also many who are black. They do not make use of incantations and roots as do the Indians.<sup>19</sup> They are near their neighbors. They know the secrets of wonderful things, and the hidden powers of roots. There are also in this place stones and pearls of every color. For this *κλίμα* is near to that land which possesses σιδάραγδος. It is south west of Egypt the strong. Its breadth and its length, also its measurement, are like [those of] the first *κλίμα*.

In the third *κλίμα* are beautiful cities: Alexandria, the great, the city *καρχηδόνια*, Jerusalem the city of kings, Nineveh, Arbēl,<sup>20</sup> and Ktesiphon. In this third *κλίμα* are men who are wise and astute and clever<sup>21</sup> and who speak with knowledge. It is temperate in its air...<sup>22</sup> and prosperous on account of its being central.<sup>23</sup> In length and breadth it is similar to the first.

In the fourth *κλίμα* are placed Spain the renowned, Σικελ[ί]α<sup>24</sup> the godly,<sup>25</sup> Κρήτη the false.<sup>26</sup> And Κύπρος is placed in it, and Emesa, and Ἀπάμεια<sup>27</sup> and

<sup>17</sup> Payne Smith, Cols. 978, 1774. Bar Bahlul, ed. Duval, Col. 610.

<sup>18</sup> I am not certain of this translation: but see some passes cited by Payne Smith, Col. 1655.

<sup>19</sup> Or should we translate: "They are not as abominable as the Indians. [But] in the [use] of incantations and roots they are near (i. e. like) their neighbors"?

<sup>20</sup> My copy seems to have aṛba' four—a mistake of the copyist.

<sup>21</sup> I read ṭūlīkīn.

<sup>22</sup> My copy has taḳyāith, with which I can do nothing. Perhaps taḳnāith? Bar 'Ebh-rāyā, *Chron. Eccl.* ii., 278. Bickell, *Carmina Nisibena*, p. 76. See also note in text.

<sup>23</sup> I have guessed at the meaning of the word m<sup>e</sup>phall<sup>e</sup>ghūthā.

<sup>24</sup> A yodh must be supplied in the text.

<sup>25</sup> Literally "of the gods."

<sup>26</sup> *Epistle to Titus*, i, 12.

<sup>27</sup> On the different ways of writing this name see Payne Smith, Cols. 85, 346. *Mittheil. des Akad. Or. Ver.* iii., pp. 10, 17.



Beroea. In it are Urhai and Hārān and Nisibis, and Babel and Madai. Knowledge and belief have taken deep root in it (κλίμα). Therefore kings have made war [upon it]. Strong men are known in it, rhetors, and wise men and teachers orthodox in their faith.<sup>28</sup> This κλίμα received the true faith. Men of approved understanding have called Jerusalem the city of kings the centre of the earth.<sup>29</sup> That it is called the centre of the earth is not because it is situated as a point of the Διάμετρον in regard to the circumference of the earth, but because it was in truth the centre of the land of promise when Joshua, the Son of Nun, parted out the possession[s] to the twelve tribes. Then the Jews wished that he should give them a place for the sacrifices. They said to him, give us a place situated in the middle of our possession[s], that one tribe be not offended at another, an account of the distance of the boundaries. Since it is placed in the middle, a sign of peace it shall be unto us. For according to the likeness of the tent of assembly the tribes shall be grouped around it. Three shall dwell to the east, three to the west, three again to the north, and three to the south. Joshua called it Jerusalem because of the people at the middle of the land, at the end of the tribe of Judah and the beginning of the tribe of Benjamin.<sup>30</sup> He also called it the middle of the earth on account of the division of the children of Noah. For since the possession was placed in the middle portion of Shem, from there it took its name, that it should be the centre of the earth. But let us leave off from such things and let us not add one thing to another. But this (κλίμα) also is completed according to the measurement of the third.

In the fifth κλίμα is placed the strong city of the kings, βυζάντεια. It is called by the name of Ko[n]stantinus. In it is Rome the well-known,<sup>31</sup> which has a circumference of forty miles, in which Peter and Paul were placed as pillars.<sup>32</sup> There is the beauty of prominent men and στήλαι<sup>33</sup> of the house of Abraham.

<sup>28</sup> Nestle, *Syrische Grammatik*, p. 195. Wright, *Catalogue*, p. 494. a. Frothingham, *Stephen bar Suda'i*, p. 59. Bar 'Ebr. *Chron.* (ed. Bedjan), 89, 4. Payne Smith, *Col.* 1553, etc. The opposite is 'udhyāyāi šubhā, Kayser, *Canones*, p. 5, 14.

<sup>29</sup> Is Ezekiel, v. 5 referred to? cf. Warren, *Paradise Found*, pp. 226, 234. The Syriac text of the M<sup>e</sup>arrath Gazzō (Lagarde, *Mittheil.* iii., p. 50) ed. Bezold, p. 14, 4 has the story that Adam was created there. In this it follows an old Jewish tradition. But in the Arabic text we read: Kān a dhālīka-lmaudiū fi wasaṭi-lardī. Cf. Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, p. 17, note. The Talmud, punning upon the word, says the same thing of Tiberias. See the quotation in Kohut, *Ārūkh Haššālēm*, iv. 13. 1. See also שְׁתַּיִן לְבָנִים, Levy, *Chald. Wortbuch.*, ii., p. 5, Col. 2. Sepp, *Jerusalem*, i, p. 106.

<sup>30</sup> I. e., on the border of Judah and Benjamin.

<sup>31</sup> Such and more lengthy descriptions of Rome seem to have been current in the Middle Ages. Cf. Land., *Anecdota Syriaca*, iii., p. 323. Mai, *Script. Vet. Nov. Coll.* x., p. 359. Kayser, *Das Buch von der Erkenntniß der Wahrheit*, p. 144, 10. Ignazio Guidi has published two monographs on this subject, *Il Testo Siriaco della descrizione di Roma nella Storia attribuita a Zacharia Retore* (Estratto dal Bullettino della Commissione archeologica di Roma, fascicolo iv., anno 1884) Roma, 1885, and *Di un Nuovo Manoscritto del Breviarium Siriaco*, 1891. On p. 68 of this last treatise, this part of our text is cited from B. O., iii., 1; p. 256.

<sup>32</sup> Galatians ii., 9??

<sup>33</sup> The text has سُلُكُومَ, which from its first citation in Assemani (see above) has been translated "Stolae Abrahamicae," which Bernstein and Payne Smith (*Col.* 300) are, of course, at a

There are beautiful pillars and lovely triclinia, beautiful temples and baths in number as the days of the year. The whole beauty of the city has been described by us on another occasion.<sup>34</sup> In it (κλίμα) is the place Thrace, and the dwelling-place of the philosophers. It has length and breadth according to the extent of one of (i. e. any other) of the κλίματα.

The sixth κλίμα is a northern one, near to the Barbarian people. In it are different nations and strange lands, many tribes, peoples, and men. In it are Amazon<sup>35</sup> women who cut off the right breast, that there be to them no impediment in battle with warriors. There is not<sup>36</sup> with them a male, nor does a man dwell in the house. At a certain time—the day [of which] they observe—they cross over the river to a mountain and hold a great banquet. [Many] peoples come to their nuptial[s].<sup>37</sup> From time to time they become with child as do the hinds upon the mountains; and as the birds in their nests they bring men to their beds, and receive conception there. Then they return to the place of their dwelling. And when these surreptitious conceptions have borne fruit, they kill the male [offspring] of their wombs. I believe that He who forms embryos knows the extent of their wickedness, and does not create in their bellies a multitude of males that they may be killed; [but] gives a multitude of females to the mothers accustomed to kill. Having pity upon the children, he diminishes [the males] and adds females, for these only they bring up: (for) such is their law. The length of this (κλίμα) and its breath in measurement are as the others.

The seventh κλίμα is a northern one, and the extreme end of the habitable globe. There are there Numidians<sup>38</sup> men short-lived. On account of the great cold their power and their life are small. Their children are not numerous. A bad dwelling place is their place of dwelling. They are the Scythians, as those who know say. They build for themselves houses of wood, made out of shingles which are of a close fibre.<sup>39</sup> They have no houses upon

loss to understand. I have no doubt that we have here the word στήλαι, which is written سجلا (Payne Smith Col. 299) سجلات (Col. 2599) سجلات (Col. 2600). Bar Bahlul (ed. Duval) 227, 3 (222, 17) Fürst, *Glossarium Graeco-Hebraeum*, 1891, p. 62. Bēth Ābbrāhām = Jews (Payne Smith, Col. 479). Guidi, *Il Testo Syriaco*, p. 222, 18 gives us the commentary: *īth bāh thūbh ānōrānān dhanēhāšā dhēbhēth ābhrāhām wēsarā wēhāghār wadhēmal kē dhēbhēth dāwīdh 'esrīn wēhamšā. hānōn dassek aspisyānos malkā, khadh ahrēbhāh lurišlem. wēthar'ē dhilāh dhurišlem wēšebhwāthā 'hrānyāthā dhanēhāšā, i. e. the things which were brought to Rome from Jerusalem by Vespasian. Cf. also Di un nuovo manoscritto*, p. 63, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Text has šarbā, thing.

<sup>35</sup> Read سجلات - cf. *Anecdota Syriaca*, p. 207, 7. *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 17, 26, and, for the description, cf. Budge, *The History of Alexander the Great*, 1889, pp. 227 sqq.

<sup>36</sup> Text has *īth*; but read *lait*.

<sup>37</sup> Really "jollification."

<sup>38</sup> The MS. has a *riš* in place of a *dālath*. The same mistake is made in *Spicilegium Syriacum*, p. 17, 1. Cf. *HEBRAICA*, Vol. iii., p. 142. Lee, *Theophania* (Eng. transl.), p. 193. Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 95, note.

<sup>39</sup> I have guessed somewhat at this translation.

the ground, nor a foundation placed upon a rock. [But] the house is built upon wheels, so that he may go where he wills. And the property and the children of the master of the house is with him on his journeys. Wherever there is a fitting pasture, there he halts his wagon. The Scythian has no house, that he should build up a multitude of stones. He does not make a brick of stone, nor has he lime for cement. His house is placed upon a wagon that oxen may be his servants. For when the sun is near its setting, they are bound in by fences of wood. There is no settlement of men there, nor separate possessions. As there are no boundaries laid down for the different nations, they pass on from place to place. This is the seventh *κλίμα*. Its breadth and length is like [that of] its fellows.



# CHRONOLOGY OF THE ACCOUNT OF THE FLOOD IN P.\*—A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE JEWISH CALENDAR.

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The student unfamiliar with the special characteristics of the Priestly Document might be inclined to doubt the possibility of discovering any recondite meaning in the remarkable series of statistics afforded by this writer throughout his work. All scholars, however, who admit the documentary theory at all, are agreed upon this as the most characteristic peculiarity of the Priestly Law Book, outside of its purely legal enactments, that it systematically skeletonizes the narrative, reducing it to a series of names and dates in the extreme of artificiality. So far as can be made consistent with his principal object, the history of the Law and the Covenants, the author reduces everything to an arithmetical statement. The history of the patriarchal period, for example, is comprised in ten *Toledoth* or Genealogies, of which Gen. v. the Book of the *Toledoth* of Adam, or xi. 10-26, the *Toledoth* of Shem, give the model, the story of the Creation (*Toledoth* of the Heaven and the Earth, leading up to the institution of the Sabbath i.-ii. 4a), of the Flood (*Toledoth* of Noah, leading up to the Covenant of Blood-shed ix. 1-17), and of Abram (*Toledoth* of Terah, leading up to the Covenant of Circumcision, Gen. xvii., and Acquisition of Machpelah, Gen. xxiii.), being exceptional and in the nature of digressions. Hence it is an agreed point among critics that the numbers in P are both systematic and significant, though the particular significance of many of these series of numerals is still doubtful.

We do not now propose to discuss the method followed in the dates of the Genealogies of Adam and of the patriarchs further than to call the reader's attention to the fact that the establishment of an *era* is obviously an object of importance to the writer. This era, the *Annus Mundi*, is in fact still employed by the Jews, and in exceptional cases by ourselves. We wish at present only to ascertain what P has to say on the subject of a calendar, believing in particular that his account of the Flood, with its extraordinary system of dates, will throw light upon the important but still obscure and intricate question of the Hebrew calendar system, its character, sources and origin.

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\* Gen. vi. 9-22 ; vii. 6,11,13-16a,17 in part, 18-21,24 ; viii. 1,2a,3b-5,13a,14-19 ; ix. 1-17,28sq.

We have abundant reason *a priori* to expect in this narrative a more or less complete treatment of the calendar, both from the character and utterances of the Priestly Document elsewhere, and from the character of the Assyro-Babylonian original to which the Creation and Flood-stories of this writer may, more or less directly, be referred.

1. Beginning with the latter, it is significant for our enquiry that the two digressions of P into general history, the narratives of the Creation and of the Deluge, each go back to the now well-known cycle of *calendar* myths discovered by Geo. Smith (*Chald. Acc. of Genesis*, London, 1876). This series of extremely ancient myths, which stand connected with the twelve months of the year and afford the explanation of the twelve signs of the Zodiac, are grouped into a single epos in twelve cantos, recounting the adventures of the Assyrian hero Gilgames (formerly read "Izdubar") and correspond to the twelve labors of Hercules in classic mythology. In this series the first was the cosmogonic or creative myth, corresponding to the sign Aries, the symbolic Accadian name for the month being *Bara zaggar*, "Altar of the demiurge." The eleventh, on the eleventh tablet, was the Deluge-myth, corresponding to the sign Aquarius, this month of the year being designated aš A. A N (šur), "The Curse of the Rain."\*

Now the Creation-story of Genesis not only gives positive evidence, as well as the Flood-story, of dependence upon the Assyro-Babylonian cycle of calendar myths, but P exhibits, both in Gen. i. 14 and in the Flood-chronology, a degree of sympathy for the purpose of these myths, viz., the regulation of the luni-solar calendar. The fifth Creation Tablet reads according to Schrader's revised translation :

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|--|---|
| 1. Excellently he made the [twelve?] abodes<br>of the great gods ; | 3. He regulated the year, assigned to it decades ;        |
| 2. the stars he brought forth like ...lu ma ši.                    | 4. for each of the twelve months he fixed three<br>stars. |

In the fragmentary remainder the movements of certain stars, and particularly the functions of the moon, are regulated.

The best commentary on this passage is a couple of fragments from Diodorus Siculus II. 30 quoted by Lenormant.†

"Over the course of the five planets are placed, according to the Chaldaeans, thirty [six] stars, called the Counsellor-gods ; half of these look toward the places on the surface of the earth.... Every ten days one of them is sent as a messenger of the stars from the upper to the lower regions, while another quits the region located below the earth in order to ascend to those who are above ; this movement is exactly defined and continues constantly, in a period which does not vary."

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\* A detailed comparison of the calendar myths with the signs of the Zodiac as they appear on the cylinders, with some further *rapprochements* to the Genesis stories, may be found in Lenormant, *Beginnings of History*, chap. VI., "The Ten Antediluvian Patriarchs."

† *Beginnings of History*, p. 495.

In the Babylonian system the year consisted of 360 days (=twelve months of 30 days each). It was divided into 36 decades (Tablet, line 3) or 3 for each month, a system subsequently adopted by the Greeks. The months accordingly were not lunations, though doubtless approximated to the lunations, but an arbitrary period of 30 days, marked by the rising and setting of certain constellations which subdivided each month into three decades or periods of ten days. These decades again were divided, each half-decade being named from the presiding deity.

The "twelve\* mansions of the great gods" (line 1) are also explained by Diodorus, in the same passage :

"There are twelve Ruling-gods above the Counsellor-gods, each presiding over one of the twelve months of the year and one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac. (Cf. Heb. *Mazzaloth* or *Mazzaroth* Job xxxviii. 32; II Kgs. xxiii. 5).

The "abodes" accordingly are the constellations of the Zodiac. The calendar is astronomical and theological in one, regulated, as among nearly all peoples, by the priesthood, who are both mystics, astrologers and astronomers. The system itself is known to us from many sources, and was curiously elaborate as well as accurate, combining the decimal and duodecimal systems. The day consisted of twelve (double) hours, and the week, terminated by a Sabbath on the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th of the month, was also employed; but apparently the first of the month (originally the first of the lunation ?) was always the first of the week, the 29th and 30th being excluded from the series of hebdomads. The length of the year being very exactly determined, a system of intercalation served to compensate the civil year, but apparently the intercalation was always of whole months of 30 days. According to Sayce,† however, the first intercalation was not of a single month every 6th year, but of two months every 12th year, this twelve year period being identified as the *annus Chaldaeus* of Censorinus, a cycle which marks also one revolution of Jupiter and six of Mars. These two intercalary months were called the *maḡru ša addari*, "incident to (the month) Adar," and *ululu šanu*, "second Elul," and had each 30 days, as we know from the hemerologies. Besides these a third intercalary month, *nisanu šanu*, "second Nisan," was inserted at a period sufficient to compensate the fraction (5 hrs. 48' 48") by which the true value of the year exceeds 365 days. This, it is readily seen, could only have been the double *soos* of 120 years, or 10 times the *annus Chaldaeus*. In this period Saturn returns to the same point in the heavens after four revolutions, Jupiter after ten and Mars after 60. The true discrepancy of the civil year would amount to 29 days 1 hour and 36 minutes. Lenormant‡ argues for the existence of a 3d period of intercalation at the expiration of a *ner*

\* A number is to be supplied, which from line 4, and from the connection, is certainly twelve.

† *Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.*, vol. III., p. 160.

‡ *Beginnings of History*, p. 257.



of 600 years, but there seems to be a confusion in the mind of the French savant as to the number of intercalary months at our disposal. It is also difficult to make out the part played by lunar cycles. But it is beside our present purpose to further investigate the system. A sufficiently clear idea will have been gained by the reader as to the civil, astronomical and theological aspects of the Babylonian calendar.

Both the Creation and Flood-myth of the tablets are greatly condensed, and of course purified of their polytheistic character, in Genesis; but the horological importance of sun and moon are unmistakably predominant in Gen. i. 14, and indeed to an extent scarcely explicable save by the discovery of the Babylonian prototype. The function of "the two great lights" is to serve "for signs, and for sacred seasons (*mo'edhim*), and for days, and for years." What these sacred seasons and appointed days and years are, we begin to learn as soon as we reach the main body of the work, the ceremonial law, in which the accurate determination of the dates of feasts, new-moons, sacred days, anniversaries and sabbath and jubilee years was a matter of paramount importance. So the light-diffusing power of sun and moon in Gen. i. 15 is quite subordinate to their importance as time-keepers. The succession of day and night in Gen. i. is considered independent of the sun (cf. Job XXXVIII. 19 sq., 24), which is not created until the fourth day, and this conception is both natural in itself and common in antiquity, as we learn for example from the myths of Phoebus and Aurora. To the author of Gen. i. sun and moon are primarily "rulers over the day and over the night." There is therefore, in addition to the practical identity of matter in the Babylonian and Hebrew cosmogony, a degree of sympathy visible in P's Creation story with the calendrical interest of his model.

If we turn now to the Flood-story of P, we shall find still more reason to acknowledge that not merely its material is derived from Babylonian sources, but its peculiar chronological form, the main feature distinguishing it from its "prophetic" counterpart, is due, if not to direct imitation of a Babylonian model other (and later?) than that followed by J, then certainly to a real interest in the regulation of the calendar, corresponding to that which pervades the myth-cycle in its antechthonous form.

The calendar myths of Babylonia circulated in different versions, one of which (that reported to us by Berosus, as quoted both by Polyhistor and Abydenus) dated the beginning of the Deluge on "the 15th of the month Daisius." If with Lenormant\* we suppose Berosus to have written simply "the 15th of the eighth month" which the Macedonian writers translated into 8th of the Syro-Macedonian system, viz. Daisius, a Hebrew writer whose civil year began with Tishri, at the autumnal equinox, might call this the 2d month. The nearness of

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\* *Beginnings of History*, p. 413.

this date to 17th of the 2d month, P's date for the beginning of the Deluge (Gen. vii. 11), is certainly striking. But even without this conjectural reading of Berossus the very fact of the existence of one form of the Babylonian calendar-myth which *dated the story by the day of the month* gives an unmistakable hint of the source of the chronological system presented in P's Flood-narrative, and we shall naturally conclude that these dates in the Babylonian myth, if not in P's narrative, had more to do with periods of the calendar than with historical fact.

Finally we have in Gen. vii. 24; viii. 3 sq. an indication that P was in fact following some such Babylonian narrative, and following much more closely than is commonly supposed. Here there is a double reckoning, in days and months, and according to this reckoning 150 days = 5 months exactly. We are prevented from supposing the 150 days to be a mere round number by the fact that the terminal date is expressly given as 17th of the 7th month. Hence the months had each 30 days. But it is simply impossible to consider these Hebrew months. From the earliest period and throughout all their history the Hebrew month was an observed month, dependent upon the appearance of the new-moon. If the new moon was not discovered by any observer—whether from actual non-appearance, or from concealment by clouds—on the 29th, the month had 30 days, otherwise 29; but as the mean lunation has a value of very nearly  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days (29.530588) no period of 5 months could possibly be estimated at 150 days, the months usually having alternately 29 and 30 days. Jewish astronomy, of the post-exilic period at least, was of no mean order, and while it continued for centuries the practice of checking its predictions as to the beginning of the month by actual observation, it had long ceased to be dependent upon the eye and was able to fix with remarkable accuracy the mean lunation, so that observation became ultimately a farce. Thus the Talmud reports (*Rosh-ha-shana* 25. 1) that R. Gamaliel claimed to have received from ancestral tradition a value for the lunation of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days 40 minutes, and Josephus regards the long lives of the patriarchs as intended to enable them to observe the lunar cycle or “great year” 600 years = 7421 lunations,\* the triumph of Babylonian astronomy. A writer so minutely precise and painstaking with all his calculations as P would either have avoided the use of the reckoning by days alongside of that by months, or would have said “at the end of 147” or “148 days.” The use of the even month of 30 days can scarcely be accounted for except by supposing P to follow, more closely than is commonly supposed, some Babylonian original; for the arbitrary equal month of 30 days is a peculiarity of the Babylonian calendar. The close general connection of the Creation and Flood narratives of P with Babylonian originals being an admitted fact, we are certainly justified by the special phenomena above noted in looking for a calendar significance in the dates of P's Flood-story, if not (as Bunsen, Lenormant and others have supposed) in all the dates of P in Gen. v.-xii. 4.

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\* *Antiq. Jud.*, I. 3, 9.

2. The deduction drawn from the character of the sources followed by P is materially strengthened by the general character of his own work as well as by specific legislation later on.

Among nearly all peoples the regulation of the calendar has been a peculiarly priestly function, while its periodic days have as invariably assumed a religious character. Even Gregory the Great in reforming the Julian calendar was but resuming the ancient office of *pontifex maximus*. It is therefore easy to see *a priori* that this kind of legislation belongs peculiarly to the province of P. We do not have to go beyond the opening chapter of his work to find him entering upon it. The importance of new moons and Sabbaths to ancient Israel scarcely needs to be emphasized, but it seems not unlikely, from the Assyro-Chaldean practise above referred to, that the Sabbath originally was dependent on the lunation, marking the 7th, 14th, 21st and 28th day, or the last of each lunar "quarter;" either the 29th or 30th, according to observation, formed then the next "new moon." The arbitrary succession of hebdomads independent of the moon's phases, whose origin P refers to the creation itself, was in this case substituted, probably within the historical period, for the ancient lunar method.

It is scarcely possible for those who enjoy the blessing of a fixed self-regulating calendar to realize the vital importance for the regulation of even every day life in any civilized community, of the determination of the civil year. The confusion produced at Rome by the pontiff's manipulation of the calendar, before the reforms of Julius Caesar, are an illustration in point. But the importance of the matter becomes tenfold greater, when, as in the Priestly Legislation, the attempt is made to regulate the whole life of a people according to fixed periods, to which the most important religious ceremonies and obligations are attached, and which are named as occurring in perpetual cycle upon certain days of the year. Read the provisions of the Priestly law as to the Passover and other feasts, the great day of Atonement and beginning of the year, the Sabbatical year of release, and the year of Jubilee, and think how absolutely essential to the carrying out of any such scheme is the definite fixing of the calendar.

The date of *introduction* of the Priestly Law, whatever the date of its *composition*, is the date of reformation of the calendar; for the two are inextricably bound up together. One is almost complementary to the other. Ascertain when a central authority was endowed with the function of regulating the calendar according to "signs and seasons and days and years" and you know when the Priestly Legislation became practicable. Ascertain the source of its calendar and you know the origin of the system. For, if the year might vary in length from the lunar year of 354 or 355 days to the year of Numa of 366½ days, how e. g. would it be possible to carry out the provisions of Lev. XXVII., where, on account of the reversion of lands to the original owners in the Jubilee year, a discount is to be made from the lease-price proportionate to the proximity of the Jubilee?



The Priestly Legislation presupposes as an absolute necessity a definite calendar system, and if such a system were not already in use, the author of the Code would find himself simply obliged to construct one. The Priestly system without an elaborate regulation of the calendar is absolutely impracticable, it lacks the very foundation. As a matter of fact we find its foundation laid in a system of chronology so astonishingly elaborate as to fix the very year and day of creation itself, and in particular, before we come to the great mass of ritual law, a fixed point is found for the beginning of the year. Next to the creation, perhaps the most important event for the writer, before the giving of the law, is the deliverance from Egypt. The former serves for the fixing of the week and the Sabbath, the latter for the beginning of the year. When all is ready for the exodus the divine fiat comes to Moses and Aaron saying, "This month shall be unto you the beginning of months; it shall be the first month of the year to you." Previously, it is here supposed, the beginning of the year was Tishri, as in the ancient Jewish practise (Ex. xxiii. 16; xxxiv. 22). But when was the end of the year? or rather, what was its length? for this was simply vital to the system. The answer to this question is readily found—has long since been found by many scholars, among whom it is sufficient to name Ewald\* and Lenormant†—in the Flood-chronology.

According to Gen. vii. 11,24; viii. 4f,13f the epochs of the Flood are marked as follows:

Beginning .....	2d month	17th day.
Climax.....	7th "	17th "
Mountain-tops appear .....	10th "	1st "
Waters dried up .....	1st "	1st "
Earth dry .....	2d "	27th "

There is however one period by no means unimportant which is here left out of account, viz., that of warning to Noah and of the construction of the ark. If, as seems probable, P's Babylonian source gave no dates for this period, it was not so with the narrative which according to the dominant school of criticism was his main reliance. In the prophetic version (J<sup>2</sup>) the first two principal periods of the Flood are the seven days warning, and the forty days rain, vii. 4. In spite of the plausible *rapprochement* of Lenormant of Berosus' date, 15th of Daisius, I feel obliged to assume that P's adoption of the 17th of the 2d month for the beginning of the actual cataclysm was a departure from his Babylonian model in favor of J<sup>2</sup>, the 47 days from the beginning of the year to the 17th of the 2d month being nothing else than the two preliminary periods of the "prophetic" version, 40 days + 7 days, adopted to stand for the time of warning and of building of the ark, covered by Gen. vi. 13-22.

\**Jahrb. d. biblisch. Wissenschaft*, vol. vii., p. 9.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 411.

This impression is very strongly corroborated by the peculiar nature of the last period in P's chronology. Can any one read Gen. VIII. 13a and not experience more or less of a sensation of surprise on coming to verse 14? Not that it was not highly desirable that "Noah and they that were with him in the ark," even the animals included, should restrain their impatience for 57 days after "the waters were dried up from off the earth," and not go out while the ground was soft and muddy; but it is rather surprising that the author of the narrative should have exercised such extraordinary forethought against their getting their feet wet, and still more surprising that, when it took but 60 days for the waters to retire completely from a height equal to the highest mountains, it should take 57 days more to merely dry the surface of the ground. In short VIII. 14 with its additional period of 57 days *to dry the ground* has every appearance of an afterthought. Leave it out, and the connection is smoother than before.

Suppose then we attempt to reconstruct from these probable data in reverse order the chronology of the *Babylonian* Flood-narrative P may have been following. It ended on the 1st day of the 1st month of the 601st year of Hasisadra-Noah. The mountain-tops appeared on the 1st of the 10th month of the 600th year; and it began with a period of 150 days (= 5 months) of increase of the waters of the flood; for we have seen that this datum of P must have been derived from the Babylonian source. Knowing the cyclical character of the great Babylonian year of 600 years, and the calendrical character of the myth, can any one doubt that its original chronology was as follows?

Beginning of Flood.....	600th year (of Hasisadra?)	1st mo.	1st day
Climax, after 150 days (= 5 mos.)..	600th "	6th "	1st "
Mountaintops appear, after 150 days			
more.....	600th "	10th "	1st "
Waters dried up, after 60 days more.	601st "	1st "	1st "

Here are all the characteristics of the Babylonian calendar year of 360 days, the "decades," the 60-day period, the even month of 30 days, the "great year" of 600 years. But the Priestly writer could not take over bodily the Babylonian calendar. If there were no other reason, the religious ceremonies connected in the Hebrew ritual with the appearance of the new-moon demanded an observed month instead of the regular 30-day month of Babylon. What then has he done? Thrown the system slightly out of adjustment in the first part (at VIII. 5 where he comes back to the even 1st day of the month he resumes the thread of his source), by inserting a 47 day period at the beginning; and given it a new adjustment corresponding to the Hebrew luni-solar year, by appending a 57 day period at the end (VIII. 14). What this new adjustment was we still have to inquire.

As already observed, scholars have long since recognized in this chronology of P a determination of the Hebrew luni-solar year. This determination rests of course upon the fact that the beginning of the Flood and entrance of Noah into the ark is dated on the 17th of the 2d month of his 600th year, and his exit on the 27th of the 2d month of the 601st year. For, if one is reckoning according to the Hebrew system of lunar months, one must add ten days to the day of the terminal month for each solar year, and thus compensate for the deficiency of the lunar year, in order to reach the equivalent date in solar time; because  $12 \times 28\frac{1}{2} = 354$ . If now the solar year was reckoned at 364 days we can readily understand why the exit of Noah is dated on the 27th instead of the 17th of the 2d month. The ten days represent the luni-solar discrepancy as appears from the following denunciation from the Book of Jubilees, a work of the post-exilic period devoted to this very subject of the civil-ecclesiastical calendar, then the all-absorbing topic, against persons who aimed to determine the feasts "according to their own views and their own errors." "There will be those," says the author, "who will employ observations of the moon. Now the moon corrupts the periods of time, and anticipates each year by *ten days*. Thus will they hereafter corrupt the years and appoint a wrong day for the day of the Testimony and a wrong day for feasts, and shall err in months and sabbaths and feasts in jubilee-years." It is obvious that the addition of ten days to dates by day of month was then current.

But there is one insuperable obstacle to this explanation of the date. *It is absolutely incredible that P should have reckoned the solar year at 364 days.* Even if we leave out of account the 365 years of Enoch's life (Gen. v. 23) which are certainly not accidental, it is impossible to suppose an error of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  days in a people of the mental development of Israel, midway between Babylon and Egypt. In forty years the "first-fruits" would have been extreme last fruits, and all the seasons shifted. No people of any degree of civilization has ever maintained for any length of time a year so widely differing from the true. It is a practical certainty that P reckoned 365 days to the solar year, and Ewald and Lenormant, being well aware of this fact, escape the difficulty by the bold method of assuring us, "The Deluge has thus lasted altogether one lunar year, plus *eleven days*."\* But as I read P's chronology he adds *ten days*, and not *eleven*, to the lunar year, and this figure ten is confirmed by the above quotation from "Jubilees."

The distinguished scholars have been misled by the modern Jewish practise of the alternate full (30 day) and deficient (29 day) month. But this practise dates only from the introduction of the Metonic cycle and well-known later Greek system by the second Hillel, *circ.* 330 A. D. Previous to this date it was distinctive of Jewish particularism that they clung pertinaciously to the month of actual observation. Now the alternate system reckoning  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days to the month gives of

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\* *Beginnings of History*, p. 411. See Ewald as there quoted. I have not yet been able to verify the quotation personally.



course a lunar year of,  $12 \times 29\frac{1}{2} = 354$  days. But close observation would show the mean lunation to be so much greater than  $29\frac{1}{2}$  as to make 355 days actually nearer the true lunar year than 354, and we have seen evidence that the Jews at the beginning of our era knew the great cycle 600 years = 7421 lunations, and hence both could and did calculate the mean lunation as close as the figures attributed in the Talmud to the family of Gamaliel. I cannot but think that the reiterated statement of Lenormant\* that the Hebrew lunar year contained but 354 days is erroneous. Certainly it could not have remained so for two consecutive years, and there seems to be abundant reason to think it had normally 355. The calendar of Numa made the lunar year consist of 355 days, and while tradition reports that this number was chosen instead of 354 "because the odd was more lucky than the even," it is not likely that such considerations would have determined the matter had it not been known that the real value is between 354 and 355, the latter being in reality somewhat more correct.

The explanation of the final date of P's Flood-chronology, 27th of the 2d month, in contrast with 17th of the 2d month as the date of beginning, is in reality the lunar deficiency of *ten* (not *eleven*) days, and his readjustment of dates in the Babylonian calendar myth which he was following afforded the determination of the length of the luni-solar year which his system demanded, viz., 1 lunar year of 355 days + 10 days = 1 solar year, the only period of time to which the name "year" (*shanah*, "repetition," "cycle," = *annus*) can properly apply.

The bearing of these facts upon the question of the date of P and the significance of his chronological system in general is a subject for future investigation.

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\* *Op. cit.*, pp. 253, 285.

## THE USE OF PASEQ IN THE PSALMS. II.

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The former article on this subject published in *HEBRAICA* (Jan., 1889) plainly shows that investigations on the use of Paseq in the Psalms, with the Comm. Edd. Ps., Pr. and J. as basis, will lead to no satisfactory result. In the present article we shall, therefore, first endeavor to obtain a more accurate Paseq-list, then to discriminate between L'garmeh and Paseq and, in the third place, we shall state the results obtainable from the given facts.\*

### 1. PASEQ-LIST.

For the most accurate Paseq-list extant in our days we might simply refer to B. Ps., Pr., J. as modified by W. H. P. A. But it may give greater satisfaction to some of my readers who wish to compare the critical with the common editions to briefly collate the variations in the pointing of Paseq. Under the letter *a* of the following paragraphs I shall indicate those passages in which both Comm. Edd. and B. Ps., Prov. and J. point Paseq; under *b* I shall state the passages in which the Comm. Edd. alone point Paseq; under *c* I shall enumerate the instances of Paseq found in B. alone, and under *d* the corrections found in W. H. P. A. Such a list will also facilitate future reference.

#### I. Paseq is found after Azla :

*a.* In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps.: 1:3; 2:2; 2:12; 3:8; 5:11; 7:6; 7:7; 7:10; 8:3; 9:7; 9:14; 9:21; 10:5; 10:9; 10:14; 11:1; 12:5; 17:1; 17:14; 18:1; 18:8;

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#### \* Abbreviations:—

App. = Appendix. Cf. = compare.

B. J. = Baer's Edition of Job (Leipzig, 1875).

B. Pr. = Baer's Edition of Proverbs (Leipzig, 1880).

B. Ps. = Baer's Edition of the Psalms (Leipzig, 1880).

B. N. Ps. (Pr., J.) = Baer's notes to the Psalms [Proverbs, Job].

Ben-Bil. = R. Jehuda Ben-Bil'am's Treatise on the Accents of the Three Books.

Comm. Edd. Ps. [Pr., J.] = Common Editions of the Psalms [of Prov., of Job].

Dikd. hat. = Ben Ascher's *דקדוקי השערים* edited by S. Baer and H. L. Strack (Leipzig, 1879).

Elem. Acc. Met. = *Elementa Accentuationis Metricae* in B. Ps.

W. H. P. A. = Wickes' Hebrew Poetical Accents (Oxford, 1881).

W. H. P. A. = Wickes' Hebrew Prose Accents (Oxford, 1887). In W. Heb. Accents the references are generally to page and line, except when indicated by n. which refers to the notes. To facilitate the verification of the numerous references to the treatises of Wickes, his terminology has been followed throughout.

18:9; 18:12; 18:14; 18:16; 18:51; 19:7; 19:10; 19:14; 19:15; 22:16; 22:24; 22:27; 22:30; 23:5; 24:9; 25:5; 25:7; 26:1; 27:1; 27:2; 27:3; 27:5; 27:9; 28:1; 29:9; 31:3 (*bis*); 31:14; 32:6; 32:8; 35:1; 35:10; 35:26; 36:7; 37:1; 37:20; 37:28; 37:34; 39:4; 39:5; 39:6; 39:12; 39:13; 40:4; 40:6; 40:7; 40:10; 40:11; 40:13; 40:15; 40:17; 41:7; 41:10; 41:14; 42:3; 42:5 (*bis*); 42:6; 42:9; 42:12; 43:1; 43:5; 45:2; 45:5; 45:13; 47:10; 48:9; 48:14; 48:15; 49:11; 49:12; 49:15; 50:7; 50:16; 50:21; 51:6; 51:16; 54:5; 55:16; 55:20; 55:23; 55:24; 57:2; 57:4; 60:2; 60:9; 61:3; 62:5; 62:9; 63:2; 64:6; 65:6; 65:14; 66:6; 66:7; 68:7; 68:9; 68:19; 68:28; 68:31; 69:7; 69:14; 69:36; 70:5; 71:3; 71:20; 72:1; 72:16; 72:17; 74:2; 75:2; 75:9; 76:6; 76:18; 77:17; 77:19; 78:4; 78:5; 78:6; 78:8; 78:31; 78:38; 78:49; 78:55; 79:3; 79:13; 80:2; 80:3; 80:11; 82:5; 84:3; 84:4; 84:12; 87:5; 88:6; 90:10 (*bis*); 91:4; 91:7; 91:15; 92:8; 93:3; 93:4; 93:5; 95:10; 96:10; 96:13; 97:8; 98:1; 98:3; 99:6; 100:4; 101:3; 101:5; 101:7; 102:3; 103:1; 103:17; 103:22; 104:14; 104:24; 104:35; 106:1; 106:7; 106:47; 106:48 (*bis*); 108:9; 110:1; 110:4; 111:1; 111:10; 112:1; 112:10; 113:1; 113:9; 117:2; 122:5; 126:6; 129:8; 131:2; 132:11; 132:12; 133:2; 133:3; 135:1; 135:21; 137:1; 137:6; 137:7; 138:1; 140:5; 141:4 (*bis*); 141:5; 141:8; 142:4; 142:5; 142:8; 143:3; 143:5; 143:7; 143:8; 144:1; 144:12; 146:7; 146:10; 147:1; 147:8; 147:20; 148:1; 148:14; 149:1; 149:9; 150:1.

Also in Comm. Edd. Pr. and B. Pr.: 1:27; 3:28; 5:21; 6:14; 6:22; 8:13; 8:29; 19:7; 23:29; 24:12; 24:16; 24:27; 24:31; 25:13; 25:20; 27:14; 27:22; 28:10; 30:4 (*ter*); 30:9; 30:15; 30:19; 31:4.

And finally in Comm. Edd. J. and B. J.: 3:26; 4:5; 5:5; 6:10; 10:3; 10:17; 10:22; 11:6; 12:3; 12:4; 12:6; 13:27; 14:5; 14:13; 15:28; 15:30; 16:9; 16:10; 16:12; 16:13; 19:27; 19:29; 24:5; 24:12; 24:15; 24:17; 24:20; 24:24; 28:4; 31:34; 31:35; 31:40; 32:2; 32:11; 33:23; 33:26; 34:19; 34:29; 34:33; 36:16; 37:6; 37:12; 38:2; 39:25; 42:3.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone: 30:6; 31:12; 32:5; 38:12; 40:13; 42:5; 44:3; 56:10; 62:13; 68:36; 78:20; 79:6; 86:11; 92:10; 94:23; 99:4; 137:3; 138:2; 140:6; 144:1.

Comm. Edd. Pr.: 27:10.

Comm. Edd. J.: 7:20.

c. In B. Ps. alone: 5:9; 10:14; 11:4; 15:4; 17:3; 18:7; 19:5; 20:6; 21:10; 28:7; 32:4; 38:13; 40:3; 41:3; 43:2; 43:4; 44:2; 57:7; 59:6; 59:12; 60:8; 63:2; 65:9; 65:10; 66:4; 71:18; 77:18; 79:1; 86:9; 86:14; 89:9; 104:35; 108:8; 109:14; 115:7; 116:3; 125:3; 127:1; 127:2; 131:1; 135:11; 143:1; 146:8; 146:9; 148:13.

B. J. alone: 11:15; 14:19.

Cf. B. N. Ps. 2:12; 15:4; 19:5; 86:14; 87:5 and B. N. Pr. 6:14; 7:7; 23:29; and finally B. N. J. 11:15.

d. Wickes modifies B. Ps., Pr. and J. in the following way:



<i>α.</i> Paseq of B. Ps. 9:14				is omitted, cf. W. H. P. A. 64:2			
"	"	"	11:1	"	"	"	6 n. 13
"	"	"	19:5	"	"	"	67 n. 3
"	"	"	42:5 ( <i>bis</i> )	"	"	"	36:8 sqq.
"	"	"	42:9	"	"	"	36:17
"	"	"	49:15	"	"	"	73:6
"	"	"	59:6	"	"	"	96:18
"	"	"	93:5	"	"	"	36:31
"	"	"	125:3	"	"	"	73:8
"	"	B. J.	38:2	"	"	"	68 n. 8
"	"	"	39:25	"	"	"	37:18

<i>β.</i> Paseq is introduced into Ps. 11:6,				cf. W. H. P. A. 36:2			
"	"	"	22:25	"	"	"	89:8
"	"	"	23:4	"	"	"	89:9
"	"	"	31:12	"	"	"	89:11
"	"	"	42:5	"	"	"	36:8
"	"	"	32:5	"	"	"	89:12
"	"	"	66:12	"	"	"	36:22
"	"	"	106:38	"	"	"	89:13
"	"	"	138:2	"	"	"	89:16

*γ.* For Ps. 45:13 cf. W. H. P. A. 84 n. 4; for the Pss. 37:1; 106:1; 138:1; 150:1 cf. W. H. P. A. 60 n. 8.

## II. Paseq occurs after M'huppakh :

*α.* In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps.: 1:5; 3:1; 4:2; 5:5; 9:17; 10:7; 10:8; 10:13; 10:14; 12:3; 13:6; 14:5; 15:5; 16:9; 16:10; 18:7; 18:31; 18:50; 19:15; 20:2; 21:5; 22:28; 27:4; 31:15; 31:23; 32:4; 35:13; 36:5; 37:7; 37:14; 39:7; 40:18; 42:9; 42:10; 42:11; 44:3; 44:24; 45:2; 45:8; 48:12; 49:15; 50:1; 51:18; 52:2; 55:20; 55:22; 56:7; 56:8; 59:8; 59:19; 60:10; 61:9; 62:4; 62:11; 62:12; 65:5; 65:8; 68:17; 68:19; 68:20; 68:21; 68:24; 69:5; 69:21; 70:6; 71:6; 71:15; 71:21; 71:22; 72:4; 72:18; 72:19; 73:8; 73:10; 73:20; 73:28 (*bis*); 74:2; 76:8; 77:3; 78:21; 79:9; 79:10; 81:6; 84:7; 85:9; 86:12; 87:4; 88:14; 90:2; 90:17; 94:14; 96:5; 97:7; 98:6; 101:2; 101:6; 102:20; 102:27; 104:8; 104:15; 104:25; 104:26; 105:3; 105:45; 106:5; 109:21; 109:25; 111:9; 112:9; 115:18; 116:19; 118:15; 118:27; 119:69; 119:104; 119:128; 127:1; 128:3; 132:17; 135:9; 139:16; 142:7; 143:10; 146:6; 148:4.

In both Comm. Edd. Pr. and B. Pr.: 1:9; 6:3; 7:12; 10:26; 19:10; 21:17; 21:29; 22:3; 23:7; 24:14; 24:24; 25:1; 25:28; 26:1; 27:12; 27:27; 28:24; 30:1; 30:8; 30:14; 30:17; 30:20; 31:15.

In both Comm. Edd. J. and B. J.: 3:13; 4:16; 4:19; 5:6; 7:21; 9:24; 13:14; 15:24; 16:4; 18:2; 19:12; 20:20; 20:23; 20:29; 21:28; 24:13; 24:18; 26:14; 27:13; 28:3; 28:28; 30:1; 31:2; 32:6; 33:15; 34:10; 34:20; 36:28; 37:4; 37:14; 37:21.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone: 1:1; 1:2; 5:7; 5:9; 6:7; 11:4; 15:4; 17:3; 18:3; 18:7; 20:6; 21:10; 23:6; 24:4; 27:1; 27:8; 28:5; 28:7; 28:9; 30:13; 31:21; 32:7; 32:9; 37:17; 37:25; 38:13; 39:5; 40:3; 40:17; 41:3; 43:2; 43:4; 44:2; 44:4; 52:10; 55:13; 55:24; 56:1; 57:5; 59:12; 60:8; 61:9; 62:10; 63:2; 66:4; 68:7; 69:3; 69:16; 71:18; 86:9 (*bis*); 86:14; 89:9; 89:50; 97:9; 104:14; 108:8; 109:14; 109:16; 109:20; 115:7; 116:3; 119:52; 127:1; 131:1; 134:1; 135:11; 137:9; 138:7; 143:1; 145:12; 146:8; 146:9; 148:13.

In Comm. Edd. Pr. alone: 16:10; 16:11; 21:20; 29:13.

In Comm. Edd. J. alone: 11:15; 14:19; 19:3; 33:27.

c. In B. Ps. alone: 18:1; 30:11; 38:12; 47:9; 48:11; 56:10; 59:6; 68:5; 77:20; 99:4; 108:10; 109:28; 141:4.

In B. Pr. alone: 1:22; 24:20; 30:15.

In B. J. alone: 18:21.

Cf. B. N. Ps.: 1:1; 1:2; 9:17; 15:4; 19:5; 48:11; 68:21; 97:7; B. N. Pr. 6:3; 16:10; 24:24; 25:28; 30:15; and B. N. J. 18:21; 20:20; 38:2.

d. Wickes modifies B. Ps., Pr. and J. in the following manner:

a. Paseq of B. Ps. is *omitted* in Pss. 14:5, cf. W. H. P. A. 60 n. 8

"	"	"	"	18:1	"	"	76 n. 8
"	"	"	"	18:7	"	"	73:2
"	"	"	"	59:6	"	"	89:22
"	"	"	"	30:11	"	"	67 n. 3
"	"	"	"	37:7	"	"	96 n. 4
"	"	"	"	42:9	"	"	36:17
"	"	"	"	50:1	"	"	96 n. 4
"	"	"	"	55:20	"	"	96 n. 4
"	"	"	"	62:11	"	"	60 n. 8
"	"	"	"	73:8	"	"	64:5
"	"	"	"	76:8	"	"	36:28
"	"	"	"	118:27	"	"	96 n. 4
"	B. Pr.	"	Pr.	22:3	"	"	52:1
"	B. J.	"	J.	28:3	"	"	37:9
"	"	"	"	34:20	"	"	37:12

β. Paseq is *introduced* into Pss. 5:3, cf. W. H. P. A. 52:27

"	"	"	"	5:12	"	"	89:6
"	"	"	"	13:3	"	"	89:7
"	"	"	"	23:6	"	"	87 n. 15
"	"	"	"	27:6	"	"	89:10
"	"	"	"	32:5	"	"	53:1
"	"	"	"	40:6	"	"	81:10 and n. 3

Paseq is <i>introduced</i> into Pss.	56:1,	cf. W. H. P. A.	87 n. 15
“ “ “	59:6	“ “	89:22
“ “ “	88:11	“ “	67 n. 3
“ “ “	90:10	“ “	89:25
“ “ “	95:7	“ “	51:23
“ “ “	122:4	“ “	89:14
“ “ “	123:2	“ “	89:15
“ “ “	127:3	“ “	61:13
“ “ into Prov.	1:23	“ “	61:16
“ “ “	17:12	“ “	61:16
“ “ “	27:10	“ “	89:17
“ “ into Job	32:12	“ “	61:14

γ. For the accentuation of Ps. 5:5 and Job 18:2 cf. W. H. P. A. 85 n. 8; 60 n. 8 and 84 n. 5.

III. Paseq follows Shalshéleth :

a. In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps.: 7:6; 12:8; 20:8; 29:11; 33:12; 41:8; 44:9; 49:14; 50:6; 52:5; 66:7; 67:5; 77:4; 89:2; 89:3; 94:17; 131:1; 143:6; 143:11; 146:3.

In both Comm. Edd. Pr. and B. Pr.: 6:10; 24:33.

In both Comm. Edd. J. and B. J.: 5:19; 11:6; 15:23; 16:9; 32:6; 37:12; 40:23.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone: 68:15; 72:3; 137:9;

In Comm. Edd. Pr. alone: 6:27.

c. In B. Ps. alone: 10:2; 13:2; 13:3.

d. Wickes doubtfully adds Ps. 42:2 to Baer's list; but omits 24:33 and Job 5:19; cf. W. H. P. A. 67 n. 6 and 68 n. 7.

IV. Paseq follows Mer'kha :

a. In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps. 10:3; 10:13; 20:7; 40:16; 41:14; 44:24; 66:8; 67:4; 67:6; 70:4; 72:19; 77:8; 78:65; 89:9; 89:50; 89:52; 89:53; 94:3; 119:52; 119:156; 139:19; 143:9.

In both Comm. Edd. Pr. and B. Pr. 8:21.

In both Comm. Edd. J. and B. J. 40:6; 40:9.

b. In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone: 65:11; 75:1.

In Comm. Edd. Pr. alone: 9:7.

c. In B. Ps. alone: 5:2; 5:5; 5:7; 18:50; 35:21; 36:7; 57:10; 58:7; 59:2; 61:9; 66:18; 68:20; 69:34; 74:18; 84:4; 86:8; 108:4; 113:4; 116:1; 137:7; 139:21.

In B. Pr. alone: 6:9; 8:30; 8:34; 15:25.

In B. J. alone: 27:9; 27:13; 35:13; 38:1.

d. Wickes omits Pss. 84:4; 36:7; 69:34; cf. W. H. P. A. 96:17 and 96 n. 4.

Cf. B. N. Ps. 5:2; 18:50; 20:7; 22:2; 55:20; 66:18; 84:4; Prov. 15:25; 21:20; 27:10.



V. Paseq follows Munach :

*a.* In both Comm. Edd. Ps. and B. Ps. : 57:5.

*b.* In Comm. Edd. Ps. alone : 7:17 ; 35:21 ; 40:6 ; 57:10 ; 58:7 ; 59:2 ; 61:9 ; 74:18 ; 78:24 ; 89:52 ; 100:3 ; 108:4 ; 137:7.

In Comm. Edd. Pr. alone : 6:9.

In Comm. Edd. J. alone : 27:9 ; 27:13.\*

*c.* B. Ps. adds to *a.* Pss. 22:2 ; 86:1 ; and Job 7:20 is added in B. J.

*d.* Wickes cancels Pss. 22:2 ; 86:1 and Job 7:20 ; cf. W. H. P. A. 96 n. 4.

The only remaining instance in which Munach is followed by Paseq in B. Ps. is Ps. 57:5 ; but it too must certainly be corrected, as the notes of Comm. Edd. Ps. suggest. Wickes must have overlooked the passage.

VI. B. Ps. has Paseq after Illuy in one passage, Ps. 61:1 ; Wickes does not mention this, but Illuy must be changed into a disjunctive accent. The cases in which Paseq follows any other servus in Comm. Edd. Ps., Pr. and J., we need not enumerate ; the general remark, that all must be corrected, suffices for our purpose. With regard to Paseq following a pausal accent cf. W. H. P. A. 96 n. 2 and HEBRAICA (Jan., 1889), p. 122. B. Ps. has retained Paseq after R'bhia in Ps. 68:36 ; W. H. P. A. 96:16 sqq. cancels the same.

## 2. PASEQ AND L'GARMEH.

To distinguish the cases in which Paseq with the preceding servus constitutes L'garmeh from those in which it remains Paseq strictly so called, we may have recourse to two criteria, namely, the rules of the Jewish punctuators for both signs and the Masoretic Paseq-lists. Were either of these perfect, we should be able to dispense with the other ; but in point of fact, the rules for Paseq and L'garmeh are so loose and restricted, and the extant Paseq-lists so inaccurate that both together scarcely suffice for our purpose. We shall first briefly indicate the rules, then give the Masoretic list and in the third place sketch the division lines between L'garmeh and Paseq.

I. *Rules : a. for L'garmeh.*—Ben-Bil. mentions L'garmeh as following M'hup-pakh, Mer'kha, Illuy and Sinnor. His only decisive criterion of distinction between Paseq and L'garmeh seems to be the marginal notes לִיג and פִּים, cf. W. H. P. A. 92 n. 1 and 93 n. 7. Dikd. hat. § 18 speaks of L'garmeh under the name שׁוּפֵר הַרֵב, but rather plays on words than conveys any definite rule for the accent.

*b. For Paseq.*—Dikd. hat., § 28, gives five rules for Paseq or rather indicates five purposes for which Paseq is employed :

*a.* "Paseq euphonicum," to insure distinct pronunciation when one word ends and the next begins with the same letter [H. P. A. 97, II.].

*β.* "Paseq homonymicum" [cf. W. H. Pr. A. 123, 3] between repeated words.

γ. "Paseq euphemisticum" [cf. W. H. P. A. 96, I.] to prevent the joining of the Divine Name to a word which it was thought unseemly to bring into contact with it.

δ. "Paseq distinctivum" [W. H. Pr. A. 122, I. 1] between two words that are to be distinguished as to sense.

ε. "Paseq dichotomicum" [W. H. Pr. A. 124, II.].

II. Masoretic Paseq-list. I shall first give the Paseq-list of B. Ps., Pr. and J. and then state the modifications of W. H. P. A.

α. B. Ps.: 5:2; 5:5; 5:7; 10:3; 10:13; 18:50; 20:7; 22:2; 36:7; 37:7; 44:24; 50:1; 55:20; 57:60; 108:4; 58:7; 59:2; 59:6; 61:9; 66:8; 66:18; 67:4; 67:6; 68:20; 68:21; 69:34; 74:18; 77:8; 78:65; 84:4; 85:9; 86:1; 86:8; 89:9; 89:50; 89:52; 94:3; 113:4; 116:1; 118:27; 119:52; 119:156; 137:7; 139:19; 139:21; 141:4; 143:9; **הָאֵל | וְכָל הָאֵל | וְאֵן | וְכָל אֵן**, cf. B. Ps. App. VI.

B. Pr.: 1:22; 6:3; 6:9; 8:21; 8:30; 8:34; 15:25; 30:15; cf. App. VI.

B. J.: 7:20; 27:9; 27:13; 35:13; 38:1; 40:6; 40:9; cf. App. IV.

β. Wickes, on the authority of the 2d ed. of Bomberg's Rabbinical Bible compared with four MSS. lists suggests the following corrections: Pss. 22:2; 36:7; 37:7; 50:1; 55:20; 59:6; 69:34; 84:4; 86:1; 118:27, and also Job 7:20 are to be omitted, while Ps. 57:10, being identical with 108:4, must be added. In consequence of the double **הָאֵל** and **אֵן** Pss. 35:21; 40:16; 41:14; 70:4; 72:19 and 89:53 must also be added. Cf. W. H. P. A. 96 sqq.

It may be of interest to know that Dikd. hat. (§ 28) too cites Pss. 67:4; 119:156; 139:19; 139:21; 55:20 and 68:21 as instances of Paseq.

III. Division line between Paseq and L'garmeh. From I. and II. it follows:

a. That in all cases enumerated under 1, I., Paseq serves to indicate L'garmeh. It is surprising that in spite of the frequent occurrence of Azla L'garmeh, Ben-Ascher seems to know only M'huppakh L'garmeh; for he speaks only of the latter. Dikd. hat., § 18. Cf. Elem. Acc. Met., X., 11.

b. That all cases enumerated under 1, IV are Paseq.

c. That the passages under 1, III. are neither L'garmeh nor Paseq, but Shal-shéleth, cf. W. H. P. A. 67 sqq. and 94.

d. With regard to the passages cited under 1, II., we are left in doubt. Wickes maintains, that we have Paseq in Pss. 68:20; 68:21; 85:9; 144:4 and in Prov. 1:22; 6:3; 30:15, all the other passages being instances of L'garmeh. He confesses, however, that one is sometimes in doubt, whether Paseq or L'garmeh is intended by the accentuation. Ps. 37:7 is given as an example; cf. W. H. P. A. 91 n. 1.

### 3. RESULTS.

I. In the Three Books Paseq always immediately precedes a pausal accent, no servus intervening. The following table proves my statement and facilitates reference.

a. Paseq precedes Silluq in Pss.: 5:7; 10:3; 40:16; 41:14; 58:7; 61:9; 66:18; 70:4; 72:19; 89:53.

b. Paseq precedes Athnach in Pss.: 5:2; 5:5; 10:13; 18:50; 35:21; 44:24; 57:10; 59:2; 66:8; 67:4; 67:6; 74:18; 77:8; 78:65; 89:9; 89:50; 89:52; 94:3; 108:4; 113:4; 116:1; 119:156; 137:7; 139:19; 139:21.

In Prov.: 6:9; 8:21; 8:30; 8:34; 15:25.

In Job: 27:9; 27:13; 35:13; 40:9.

c. Paseq precedes R'bhîa mugrash in Pss.: 86:8; 119:52; 143:9 and in Job 38:1 and 40:6. According to the accentuation of Wickes in Ps. 5:2 also Paseq precedes R'bhîa mugrash.

d. Paseq precedes R'bhîa in Ps. 20:7.

It may be of interest to note here that Pss. 67:4 and 67:6; 57:10 and 108:4, and Job 38:1 and 40:6 are identical.

e. Paseq occurs also before Olev'yored in Ps. 85:9 and Pr. 30:15; before R'bhîa in Ps. 68:20; before Sinnor in Ps. 68:21 and Prov. 1:22; before Pazer in Ps. 141:4 and Prov. 6:3. But with regard to all these cases, cf. 3, III. below.

II. In the Three Books Paseq always influences the preceding servus, if this be not Mer'kha. Before Silluq Munach changes to Mer'kha, when Paseq intervenes between it and Silluq, cf. W. H. P. A. 70:2; 71:1; before Athnach Munach changes to Mer'kha also, when Paseq follows; and if a second Munach precedes, it changes to Tarcha, cf. W. H. P. A. 61:25; 62:10. Munach before Sinnor and Galgal before Pazer and Olev'yored change to M'huppakh, if Paseq follows the servus. Cf. W. H. P. A. 82:1; 88:13 and 57:14. Before R'bhîa mugrash and R'bhîa the ordinary servus is Mer'kha.

III. The servus preceding Paseq is always Mer'kha except in Pss. 68:20; 68:21; 85:9; 114:4 and Prov. 1:22; 6:3 and 30:15, in which instances Paseq is preceded by M'huppakh. But it would be doubtless more correct to point L'garmeh in these instances.

a. Concerning Prov. 6:3 Wickes too repeatedly asserts that Paseq marks the dichotomy; cf. W. H. P. A. 88:22 and 98:11. Besides, B. Ps. gives three servi to Pazer, one of which Wickes suppresses by inserting Maqqeph. But why should we not point: עֲשֶׂה-זֹאת אֶפְּוֹא-בְּנִי instead of: עֲשֶׂה-זֹאת אֶפְּוֹא | בְּנִי, thus reading L'garmeh instead of Paseq?

b. As to Ps. 141:4 Ben-Naftali's pointing omits Paseq; but if Ben-Ascher's punctuation be adhered to, the accentuation of this verse seems parallel to that of Ps. 59:6, which Wickes cancels from the Paseq-list and corrects. Cf. W. H. P. A. 89:22.

c. In Ps. 68:20 Wickes corrects the R'bhîa following Paseq to Olev'yored [W. H. P. A. 57:16], probably thus omitting סֶלָה; but if we retain Baer's punc-



tuation, the Paseq precedes Little R'bhîa, and may thus be looked upon as L'garmeh.

d. In 68:21 we prefer L'garmeh to Paseq according to the rules of dichotomy. Cf. W. H. P. A. 44:5. Other instances of Sinnor clauses consisting of only two words and having L'garmeh, we see in Pss. 68:17 and 102:27. Cf. W. H. P. A. 80:12sqq.

e. The same may be said concerning Prov. 1:22, only Mer'kha being written in עַרְמָתִי instead of Maqqeph.

f. The two remaining passages in which Paseq follows M'huppakh are Ps. 85:9 and Prov. 30:15. Comm. Edd. omit Paseq in the latter case; cf. W. H. P. A. 57:16, and the former may be corrected as Wickes corrects Ps. 50:1; we might perhaps point Galgal instead of M'huppakh in 85:9, omitting Paseq entirely; cf. Pss. 22:2; 68:13 and Prov. 20:24. But we must confess that the suggested corrections of Pss. 68:20; 85:9 and Prov. 30:15 are not fully satisfactory.

IV. In the Three Books Paseq is either euphemistic or distinctive.

a. Euphemistic we may call Paseq in Pss. : 5:5; 5:7; 10:3; 10:13; 18:50; 44:24; 57:10; 58:7; 59:2; 66:8; 67:4; 67:6; 74:18; 77:8; 78:65; 86:8; 89:52; 94:3; 108:4; 113:4; 119:156; 139:19; 139:21; 143:9 and also in Prov. 15:25 and Job 27:13; cf. above 2. I. b. γ.

b. Paseq is distinctive :

a. Mechanically in Job 38:1 and 40:6; cf. B. J. *ad loc.*

β. Phonetically in Prov. 8:21 and Job 40:9 (cf. above 2. I. b. a.) and also in Pss. 35:21; 40:16; 41:14; 61:9; 70:4; 72:19; 89:53; 137:7 and Prov. 8:30; 8:34; cf. above 2. I. b. β.

γ. Logically in Pss. 5:2; 20:7; 66:18; 89:9; 89:50; 116:1; 119:52; in Prov. 6:9; and in Job 27:9 and 35:13; cf. above 2. I. b. δ.

V. Finally I must draw attention to another fact evident from this investigation. In the Psalms Paseq occurs, at least, 400 times. Considering now that the Psalms contain 2527 verses [B. Ps. App., p. 159], the book of Proverbs 925 [B. Pr. App., p. 66 C.], and the poetical part of Job about 1020 verses [B. J. App., p. 72 C.], and that the same system of accentuation is followed in the Three Books, we naturally expect in Proverbs about 145 and in Job about 160 Paseqs, while in reality Proverbs numbers about 55 and Job about 84 Paseqs. Due allowance being made for the considerable shortness of verses in Proverbs and Job, still the proportions, Psalms : Prov. : : 29:11 and Pss. : Job : : 40:21 are startling and call for an explanation.

# PSALM XXII. 17—כָּאֲרִי יָדַי וּרְגְלִי.

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"There is scarcely any passage of the Old Testament, the true reading and interpretation of which have given rise to so much discussion." These are Dean Perowne's words referring to this passage. Many attempts have been made to explain the difficulty, but to my mind, as well as to the minds of students at large, none have proven successful. The literal translation of the passage is—"As a lion, my hands and my feet." The word in dispute is כָּאֲרִי, which, in connection with the two following words "my hands and my feet," is beyond a doubt, the wrong reading, because it does not make sense, and whatever the writer may have written, he certainly wrote something that was reasonable and comprehensible. Now, although כָּאֲרִי is a palpable mistake, we cannot on that account substitute another reading, without proving the substituted reading the true one beyond a reasonable doubt.

The reading substituted in all translations is "pierced." "They pierced my hands and my feet." Some critics, however, (Rosenmüller, Gesenius, De Wette, Winer,) translate "bound strongly."

The Massoretic reading in almost all MSS. is כָּאֲרִי. There are some exceptions which we will note later. LXX. has *ῥομφαία*, Syriac כִּנְּךָ, Vulgate *foderunt*, they "pierced" "bored through." Aquila, 2d ed. Symmachus and Jerome have, "they bound;" and Aquila, 1st ed. has "they put to shame." Here we have four different readings of the MSS. and versions: (1) As a lion; (2) they pierced; (3) they bound; (4) they put to shame. Nos. (1) and (4) are without a doubt wrong, since they do not suit the context. We are, therefore, left to follow the versions in rendering either "they pierced" or "they bound."

The LXX., Syriac, and Vulgate agree, all reading "they pierced." The agreement of these three weighty authorities is of the highest importance and solves the problem for us. We accept, "they pierced" as the true reading.

But having adopted this reading, the real work only begins, we must harmonize the Hebrew text with the versions, and show that the original reading of the passage was, "they pierced my hands and my feet."

All critics, without exception, have tried to solve the difficulty by *supposing* a root כּוּר, or כָּאֲרִי, a cognate of כּוּר or כָּרָה. Some make the word כָּאֲרִי

a participle in 3d plur. constr. כָּאֲרִי ; and others retaining the Massoretic punctuation, regard כָּאֲרִי as an Impf. plur. absol. with termination י' - instead of יִם .

These explanations might be conclusive but for one thing. There is no root כֹּר in Hebrew. Further, the analogy between כֹּר and כָּרָה is arrived at through the Arabic, and the Arabic كَر very seldom has the meaning, "to pierce."

That there is no root כֹּר in Hebrew is proven from the following. Jacob ben Chayim in the Massorah Finalis says that he found כָּאֲרוֹ as the k'thib and כָּאֲרִי as the k'ri in good MSS. This is supported by the Massorah Magna in Num. xxiv. 9. Why did the Massorites insert a k'ri? Simply because the word in the text was unknown and strange to them. That the explanation of the critics, therefore, is highly problematic, is plain. A more plausible theory, then, would be preferable.

The oldest Hebrew MS. dates back only to the middle of the Xth century. This dearth of really ancient MSS. is owing to the fact, that they were condemned for very slight defects. A new sheet, if there were found in it three defects of the scribe, was buried in the "Gheriza," attached to the synagogue. If, then, the oldest MS. be only a little over 900 years old, it is plain that the text of our present Hebrew Bible is many centuries removed from the original copy. Now, I maintain that the reading כָּאֲרִי is merely a mistake of some copyist. There is a verb בָּאָר, "to bore, to pierce," and I will now endeavor to show that the original reading of the passage was בָּאֲרוֹ יָדִי וְרַגְלִי and not כָּאֲרִי יָדִי וְרַגְלִי .

That many scribes did not understand what they were copying, is well known. That they also made mistakes and repeated passages can be seen by a careful reading of the Scriptures. Compare 1 Chron. ix. 34 sqq. with 1 Chron. viii. 28 sqq. So, too, the scribe that copied Psalm XXII. was led to write down the wrong word in the 17th verse. He did not understand that which he was putting down, and through the similarity of כ with ב in MSS., he mechanically wrote בָּאֲרוֹ for כָּאֲרוֹ ; and the mischief was done.

That this interchange of letters was a common mistake of copyists, may be seen from the following examples: Isa. xvii. 3 כְּכֹבֹת for כְּכֹבֹת Cdd.; xxxvii. 21 כְּהָר for כְּהָר Cdd., Syriac, Sym., Theo.; Jer. xviii. 4 כְּחֹמֶר for כְּחֹמֶר Cdd. mult., Aquil., Theo., Tg., Vg., Massorah at v. 6 and Job x. 9; Hosea vii. 12 כְּאִשֶּׁר for כְּאִשֶּׁר Cdd., Syr., Tg., Arabic. These examples are taken from Davidson's "Revision of the Hebrew Text." The two following are taken from Gesenius in his Introduction to his *Hebr. und Chald. Wörterbuch*. Ezek. xlvi. 13 גָּה for גָּה ; Ex. xvii. 16 כָּס for כָּס .

But how came the change from בָּאֲרוֹ to כָּאֲרִי? This is easily traced. The MS. containing the mistake was used and the mistake was not discovered. Finally, after having been in use for a long time, a copy was made from it and

the mistake discovered. The scribe who was making the copy came to the word **כָּאֵר** and stopped. He did not know the verb **כָּאֵר** or **כֹּר** because it did not exist in the language. Then he sought to fix the right reading. He looked back over the Psalm and saw in the 13th verse "Many *bulls* have come about me, *fat ones* of Bashan enclose me on every side." Verse 14, They gaped upon me . . . as a ravening and a roaring *lion*. Verse 17, For *dogs* have come about me;" and came to the conclusion that the former scribe instead of writing **י** at the end of the word, wrote **י**, and he therefore, made the correction, as he supposed, by writing **כָּאֵר** in place of **כָּאֵר**. This I think to be an easy and plausible explanation of a difficult passage.



## NEW NAMES FOR THE FORMS OF THE HEBREW FINITE VERB.

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Our starting-point is the fact that what is known as the Preterite or Perfect in Hebrew has no prefixes for person, gender, or number, while what is known as the Future or Imperfect has such prefixes. Is this difference peculiar to Hebrew, or is it common to the Semitic languages? The same difference is found in Ethiopic in Biblical-Aramaic and Syriac, in Arabic and Assyrian, although here the prefixal appears in two forms and the suffixal is comparatively rare. This common characteristic of Semitic is not recognized in the names Perfect and Imperfect, or Preterite and Future, or in any other names taken from the terminology of Indo-European grammar. Moreover, these terms are misleading, especially in Hebrew; for here at least, the suffixal is not generally past or perfect, and the prefixal is not generally future or imperfect. But to call the one form *Prefixal* as having prefixes, and the other *Suffixal* as having suffixes only, would not mislead and would recognize the one great difference between these forms.

It may be objected that the form usually called Imperative is a suffixal, while yet it is really but a modification of what it is now proposed to call Prefixal. But the term Imperative may be retained, since the term is as correct for Semitic as for Indo-European; or the term De-prefixal might be used as indicating the relation of this form to the Prefixal.

And in this difference of form lies the root of the syntactical difference of the Prefixal and the Suffixal. The Pre. is not primarily a future, or an imperfect; nor the Suf. primarily a past, or a perfect; nor is either distinctively an aorist. But in the Prefixal we have subject and predicate, in the Suffixal predicate and subject. In the Pre., we see an actor before we see the action; in the Suf., we see an action before we see an actor. In the Pre., the action arises out of the actor; in the Suf., the actor is disclosed through the action. Since in the Pre., the action is presented as arising out of the actor, it may be an inceptive, and hence an aorist (not past) or a future, or an imperfect designating continuance, incompleteness, repetition, and then endeavor, wish. And since in the Suf., the mind looks across the action to the actor, and thus the action is pre-

sented as a whole, this may be a perfect or a past or may indicate certainty. The Suf. presents an act for contemplation; the Pre. presents the conditions of an act, an actor acting.

But it is the Wâw-conversive that breaks down all theories of distinction in meaning between these two forms; let us examine this peculiarity of Hebrew in the light of this root difference of Prefixal and Suffixal. If a writer has used an independent Suf., he hangs Pres. upon it, and *vice versa*, the modal and tense coloring of the series of verbs being that of the first verb. Hence, he has either the succession *act-agent, agent-act, agent-act, etc.*, or *agent-act, act-agent, act-agent, etc.* And *act-agent, agent-act* is the logical order, when the agent in both cases is the same. If one is presenting God and should say *Creator-he*, he would logically continue *and he governor*. On the other hand, if he should say *He creator*, he would logically continue *and governor he*. For that which is last before the attention at one instant is before the attention in the transition to the next instant, and so is first before the attention in the next instant. Thus the feeling could find origin and growth in the Hebrew until it rose into idea and usage, that a Pre. dependent on a Suf. takes on the coloring of the Suf., and *vice versa*. And as this dependence was denoted by putting the verb first in its own clause preceded only by a ך, the feeling and usage could easily develop, that one of those forms preceded only by a ך had the modal and tense coloring, each of the other.

As at first the connection between the pronominal prefix and the other part of the verbal form was loose in pronunciation, the little conjunctive particle became closely united with the small pronominal word; and so ground was laid for the usage of more closely uniting the Wâw-conversive with the Pre. than the simple Wâw-conjunctive.

To sum up, the names Suffixal and Prefixal (and De-prefixal) are based on an obvious difference of formation, suggest no wrong view of the difference in sense, and leave the mind free to seize and trace the real difference.

## ◀CONTRIBUTED NOTES.▶

**A Note on the Pronunciation of יהוה.**—It may be accepted as a fact that the word is formed by prefixing ׳ to the root הוה. We then inquire the meaning of the ׳ prefixed. We find it used to form an imperfect of a verb, to form a few appellatives, and to form quite a number of proper names. We might conclude at once that יהוה is a proper name rather than an appellative or a verb. If it is a name rather than a verb, then the analogy of *name-forms* instead of *verb-forms* must be sought to help us decide its probable pronunciation.

• We need to consider only those formed from ל"ה roots. The following facts appear. All names formed from such roots, and that appear without prefixed ׳ or ת, end in ה־, except שוה and יקה, and one or two formed like the participle, unless the third radical appears quiescing as ך or ף.

All the names from such roots having ׳ or ת prefixed and ending in the letter ה, end in ה־, except יפנה and יבנה.

Thus we find such names as these: יורה, יושה, יטה, ימלה, ימרה, יסכה, יחורה, ישוה, ישפה, יתלה, תקוה, תרצה.

Among these we have ישוה and תקוה like יהוה in having the second radical ך as well as ending in vowel letter ה.

Following the analogy of these names it would seem probable that יהוה also ended in the sound ה־. In determining the vowel of the first syllable from analogy, we find no names with ׳ prefixed before ה to help us. But we find it before the gutturals ה and ע taking the vowel ׀ or ׀־, and we may suppose the vowel of the ׳ in יהוה was likewise either ׀ or ׀־. Thus we have יהוה, יהוה, יהוה or יהוה as the probable form of the name, and of these יהוה is the most probable.

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**A-bi-e-shu-'=Ebishum.**—In the preface to the third volume of the *Records of the Past*, Prof. Sayce has a long introduction on the Hammurabi dynasty, and, among other things, he says: "Contemporaneous documents lately discovered at Niffer prove that the true name of Ebishum, who is made the eighth king of the first dynasty, was really Abesukh." These tablets were not found at Niffer. Compare *HEBRAICA*, Oct., 1889, where, in commenting on the Kh. (= Khabaza) collection purchased in London for the University of Pennsylvania, I said: "One of the most interesting things connected with these collections was

the discovery of a king hitherto unknown. The reading of the name puzzled me for a long time. It was read in two or three different ways by two or three different Assyriologists to whom I had shown these names. At last on J. S. 41— a collection of antiquities also purchased in London from Joseph Shemtob with the aid of Mr. Pinches, I read A-bi-e-šū-'. On J. S., Nos. 42 and 43, the name is written quite plainly in the same way." Cf. also J. S. 142, an archaic contract from the same king. In the Kh. collection I found two tablets of Abêšū', viz.: No. 19, "lists of amounts" and No. 198, a case-tablet. In the collection purchased in Baghdad, in January, 1889, there are three or four contracts belonging to this king. In August, 1889, Mr. Joseph Shemtob, an Arab dealer in antiquities, in London, had two more of these Abêšū' tablets in his possession.

Since my notes in HEBRAICA, and Z.A. in 1889, Mr. Pinches has found a tablet of Ammi-satana on which he calls himself the son of Abêšū'. A translation of this tablet will appear in vol. V. of the *Records of the Past*, and the text itself will be reproduced in a later number of HEBRAICA. Mr. Pinches informs me that there are two Abêšū' tablets in the collection brought back by Mr. Budge in 1889.

In a letter to Dr. Carl Bezold, published in his *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, April, 1889, the identification of Ebišum with Abêšū' was established. My letter was dated from Niffer and hence Prof. Sayce's mistake in crediting these tablets to the finds at Niffer. During the first season's excavations at Niffer, no tablets belonging to this king were found.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

London, November 23, 1891.



## ➤BOOK NOTICES.◀

### WILSON'S "ELEMENTS OF SYRIAC GRAMMAR" AND AN "INTRODUCTORY SYRIAC METHOD AND MANUAL."\*

These two books are not only supplementary, but indispensable the one to the other, and are intended to supply for the Ancient Syriac language what has been done by Professor Harper's text-books for the Hebrew. The inductive method, so far as exhibited in the grammar, consists merely in printing the examples before the rules, or deduced principles, as perhaps we should call them; and that is about the only substantial difference in method between this grammar and others. The rules or principles are generally stated in a concise and clear manner; and there is enough of the elementary in a clear form in the two books to give a pupil—with a teacher—a good start in Syriac. The grammar alone, however, could not be used to profit without a teacher; while its referring so constantly to the Manual for its examples detracts very much from its utility as a general grammar for the reader of texts. At the same time it goes very much beyond the needs of the student of the Manual, and is evidently intended to supply the place of a larger grammar in English; which, however, it can scarcely do in its present shape, to say nothing of the distance—in comprehensiveness, depth and finish—between this work and the magnificent grammar in small compass of Nöldeke, and the less accurate and masterly but more comprehensive one of Duval. A smaller grammar than this would have secured its object better; and the inductive method would have been more nearly attained in the practical way of furnishing more extensive and complete tables or paradigms, and leaving to induction from extensive reading—for the student will never learn them in any other way—the matters of etymology that are presented as another's deduction, along with a few examples to illustrate the latter placed before that deduction in order of printing. Not that the latter is to be found fault with by itself; but one of the crying needs of the book is that tables of the paradigms of verbs are so scanty, while the principles for making them are, in general, admirably set forth, and the verb otherwise so well treated as to exhibit one of the best parts of the book. The compilation of this grammar seems to be made from a faithful study of the master European grammarians, along with a good, but none too extensive, reading of Syriac authors. The statements are often too strongly tinged with a feeling of the literal interpretation, mechanical and verbal, where the real meaning and force of the Syriac in English is omitted; but this is a feature not to be avoided in elementary books—although it sometimes inculcates ideas which the student will have to unlearn by and by.

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\* THE "ELEMENTS OF SYRIAC GRAMMAR BY AN INDUCTIVE METHOD," AND AN "INTRODUCTORY SYRIAC METHOD AND MANUAL," by Robert Dick Wilson, Ph. D. Professor of Old Testament Languages and History in the Western Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa. 8vo, Grammar, pp. viii., 209; Manual, pp. viii. 160. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, price of each, \$2.50 net.



truths, but which have notable exceptions ; but of these we will mention but one. Referring to p. 45, Rem. 2, it is not an invariable rule that in the Ettafal stem, wherever the preformative is a *tau*, the other *taus* are written as one, to avoid the occurrence of three *taus*. The manuscripts often have three *taus* in such case ; many of the Heracleian Gospels and kindred writings have them regularly.

The grammar has the praiseworthy feature of a good index.

Concerning the Manual by itself, there is little need of remark. The progressive method is good ; the selections are intended in the main to correspond with those in Prof. Harper's *Hebrew Manual*, and are rather limited in range. "The last selection," says the preface, "is the introductory portion of the history of Rabban Soma [better Sauma], possessed in manuscript by the author and never before published. Being printed in the Nestorian alphabet, it will be useful as an introduction to the East Syriac system of writing." But the matter had been already printed, along with rest of the manuscript—except some scandalous mutilations ; edited anonymously by one of the Urmî Lazarists, printed by Drugin at Leipzig, and published by Maisonneuve at Paris, in 1888. Moreover, Prof. Wilson's Manual does not give it "in the Nestorian alphabet," but in the Estranghela, with Nestorian pointing.

The Manual has a double system of numbering the notes, which probably aim at utility in the class-room.

While in the statement of a number of elementary and of some minor matters we should not agree with Prof. Wilson, it would be improper and unjust not to recognize the labor and fidelity with which the bulk of the work is done ; the books, together, will prove a most useful pair. But both Grammar and Manual are so full of matter that an *autodidakt* beginner would be overloaded. The best use must be in the class-room, with a judicious teacher.

ISAAC H. HALL.

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#### BEZOLD'S KOUYUNJIK CATALOGUE.\*

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The second volume of Bezold's Catalogue appeared on November 26th. It contains Nos. KK. 2192-8162. This volume differs in several respects from vol. I. An attempt has been made to save as much space as possible, and hence the description of the various tablets is less complete. Only the size—in inches—is given and the number of lines. A convenient list of signs has been introduced, and these also play their part in diminishing the space necessary to the description. For example: "12 + 11 lines" = 12 lines on obverse and 11 on reverse ; "10 + 11 . . . lines" = 10 lines on obverse, the reverse lost ; "5 ± 7 lines" = 5 lines on obverse and 7 on reverse, but the minus sign has been added to indicate the possibility of the 7 lines being on the obverse and 5 on the reverse, etc., etc. It is not necessary in a catalogue to indicate the color of a tablet, whether baked or unbaked, number of cracks, erasures, etc., and hence I am inclined to think that the author has done well to omit these details. These can be added to the description when the text is published in full with notes.

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\* Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, by C. Bezold. Volume II. Published by order of the Trustees, pp. ix.-xxiv. and 421-900. London: 1891. Price, 15 shillings.

In the different tablets, Bezold has almost always given the "catch line" in the original cuneiform in support of his view as to contents. No attempt has been made to pass over difficulties. In many cases, several lines of the text are quoted.

One of the most important and helpful points is the complete bibliography under each number. Every possible reference has been added. These references could not have been demanded in a catalogue and hence they are the more welcome.

Almost every kind of tablet is represented in these numbers. I think that I can safely say that most of them, however, are omens, astrological forecasts and religious texts. There are also a great many historical fragments, and broken letters.

This volume, as does the first, shows an immense amount of painstaking work and a most exhaustive knowledge of the bibliography of the subject. No one was so well prepared to do this work as Bezold, and he has done the science an incalculable service in these volumes. For the first time, we are able to make a fairly good estimate of the contents of the K. collection. We can see what there is in this collection, what has been done in the way of publishing and translating, and what remains to be done.

The print is beautiful and very correct. I have noticed a few typographical errors, but none of any importance. The K. collection contains over 20,000 tablets, and I understand that Dr. Bezold will not only catalogue the remaining 12,000 but also all the other collections from Kouyunjik.

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER.

British Museum, December 1, 1891.



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